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# ***JPRS Report***

## **East Europe**

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# East Europe

JPRS-EER-88-016

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## BULGARIA

**Ambassadors, Diplomatic Officials Appointed**  
22000014 Sofia DURZHAVEN VESTNIK in Bulgarian  
2 Feb 88 pp 1-2

[Summary] On 27 January 1988, the State Council announced the following diplomatic appointments:

Democratic People's Republic of Korea—Vasil Penev Khubchev is replaced as ambassador by Petur Danailov Christov;

People's Republic of Poland—Ivan Raychinov Prumov is replaced as ambassador by Ivan Stoyanov Gruev;

Republic of Finland—Valeri Borisov Pchelintsev is appointed ambassador;

Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria—Grigor Todorov Kruchmarski is replaced as ambassador by Kiryak Tsonev Tsonev;

Kiev, USSR—Tsvetan Petrov Nochev is replaced as consul general by Ivan Yankov Ruzhev;

Sikтивкар, Komi, USSR—Boris Christov Dimitrov is replaced as consul general by Georgi Todorov Karashmalukov.

## HUNGARY

**U.S. Ambassador Zimmerman Interviewed**  
25000088b Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian  
27 Nov 87 p 2

[Article by Pal Bokor: "Slowly, but Not Without Hope"]

[Text] Invited by the Hungarian Government, Ambassador Walter Zimmerman, head of the American delegation to the Vienna conference, spent a few days in Hungary to discuss some of the issues concerning both countries, raised in the course of the common work in the Helsinki follow-up conference held in Vienna. "I wanted to have an opportunity to discuss the questions raised at the negotiating table in Vienna with officials in Budapest as well," Ambassador Zimmerman defined precisely the purpose of his visit to Budapest in his conversation with the head of the foreign policy column of MAGYAR HIRLAP. The American guest had "very useful" discussions with Minister of Foreign Affairs Peter Varkonyi and other Hungarian officials. On these occasions he praised the "very constructive role" that the Hungarian delegation plays in the Vienna conference.

[Question] Please characterize the situation that has evolved in the conference from the point of view of the U.S. delegation.

[Answer] We expect that our work results in the successful completion of the conference. However, progress is very slow, too slow in our opinion. Some advance is being made in the military field, which, of course, is a very important area. This progress actually leads to the beginning of the negotiations about conventional arms. Progress is much slower in the area which we characterize as the "human dimension." I think this is very sad, because I cannot recall any time period which would have been more suitable for making headway exactly in this respect. There are two reasons. First, because the neutral countries—especially Austria and Switzerland—play quite a positive role in the field of human rights and human contacts, a much more realistic and positive role than ever before. And this offers us some opportunities. Second, very favorable events have taken place in the Soviet Union. In my opinion, the new emphasis put on openness, the new way of thinking, also constitute an opportunity for us to make progress in the human sphere. Taking everything into account, we expect that in Vienna more can be achieved in every respect, and particularly in the humanitarian question, than ever before. In my view, the chances are good, and it is lamentable that all this is still just a promise.

[Question] How do you evaluate the role of Hungarian foreign policy in the whole of the Helsinki process?

[Answer] I find this role very constructive. As a matter of fact, we cooperated with the Hungarian Government in very important issues, for example, in the question of national minorities, and we are both the initiators of a very important proposal. We worked with Hungary in other areas, too. For instance, in the topic of the scientific conference to be held in Italy. Hungary was among the initiators of this plan, and the United States looks upon it very favorably.

[Question] What is the role of the process of European security and cooperation within the whole of American politics, what political weight does it have?

[Answer] The process of European security and cooperation is important for us on two accounts. First, because it provides a forum for the discussions and debates about military security. In my view, for example, the Stockholm agreement was one of great impact, which showed that the all-European process is actually able to work with respect to security. The other reason is related to human rights. This has been a question of great significance for a series of American governments and presidents. It is also very important for Reagan, and we regard the Helsinki process as the multilateral expression of human rights questions.

[Question] As the head of the American delegation, how can you create the delicate harmony between military and humanitarian questions in a way that none can impede the other?

[Answer] Our goal with regard to this harmony does not differ from the goals declared by the Warsaw Treaty. For example, we have been saying for a long time that the results of Vienna have to be balanced between the humanitarian and military sides. A similar desire is reflected by the Prague statement issued some weeks ago. We consider this a very good sign. We also read with great attention Secretary General Mikhail Gorbachev's speeches, where he frequently discusses the significance of human rights and the importance of compliance with obligations undertaken with respect to human rights. Therefore I think that the conditions are given for finding that balance, the achievement of which is our common goal. Unfortunately, we have not been able to find this balance yet, however, I think that there is every chance to create a balance which will further our good relations in military, security and human aspects more than ever before.

[Question] The Soviet Union made a proposal to organize a meeting about humanitarian questions in Moscow. What is the American standpoint on this issue?

[Answer] Our standpoint is not negative. We believe that such a meeting could be useful, but we think that it requires very thorough preparation. The American delegation set two general criteria for the organization of the conference. One is that the environment of the conference in Moscow has to be characterized by openness and accessibility, that is, it has to happen under similar circumstances as the other meetings in the framework of the Helsinki process. We think of similar conditions as those of the Budapest cultural forum. We think that the Hungarian Government made a good job by making Budapest accessible for the activists of all participating countries. This is one of the things about which we would like to get absolute guarantees from the Soviet government. Second, we would like the positive tendencies in the Soviet Union's human rights performance to grow and strengthen further. This would be a very important element for us to be able to say yes to the organization of the Moscow conference on human rights.

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### **Pozsgay Discusses Political Role of Local TV Programming**

25000102 Budapest JELKEP in Hungarian  
No 3, 1987 pp 3-11

[Article by PPF Secretary General Imre Pozsgay: "Urban Television and Local Public Life" under the rubric "Focus"]

[Text] With the support of the MSZMP CC agitation and propaganda department and of the PPF National Council, those of the County of Fejer organized a national conference on 12 May 1987 in Szekesfehervar, on the topic cited in the title. At the conference Imre Pozsgay delivered a speech which we are presenting below in detail.

I do not wish to discuss the organizational, managerial and technical issues of local television. Instead, I would like to talk about the political preconditions and political effects of these television operations, and in conjunction with these, the issue of transforming human relations.

Cable television is not one of the new inventions. In Hungary it is in these days that cable television is becoming the form in which local communities keep in touch. For this reason I believe that that the convening of a conference like this was was rightful on part of its initiators: to debate, to clarify the opportunities that exist in the application of this medium.

By now, the recognition of the fact that in the world of mass communication media some kind of a two-directional divergence took place, has become commonplace. One of these is the increased interest in the macro-world. This interest has been satisfied in Hungary by radio, television and the national daily newspapers, or at least they endeavored to satisfy this interest. The other paralleled the first one, but later, it appeared as a noticeable tendency that increasingly almost surmounted the first trend, in the form of a communications need to satisfy local interests and needs. The first real form in which this need manifested itself was the rapid increase in the number copies of daily county newspapers.

Accordingly, precisely because in those days we lived in a country that was poor regarding its means (of course, our present situation is not much different either) it became clear and apparent through the written press that there is an increased interest in local news and information in society at a time when we programmatically began to develop democracy in Hungary. This is commonplace, of course; it is not worth our while to waste too many words on this subject. Nevertheless I feel that it is important to make mention of it, because I believe that we must view in this context the opportunities available through urban television and the means of openness at the local level.

From this standpoint I find it to be a very essential issue (and by all means an issue that pertains to public life) where the tolerances and the limits of toleration pertain to the use of this tool.

Just as it is characteristic of our entire openness, also in regards to this issue—beyond constitutional rules and by now beyond the limits established by the press law—there is an opportunity for achieving consensus. Accordingly, by now we may not discuss only a form of public information which is realized simply by virtue of legal definitions and regulations. Instead, we may talk about cooperative opportunities between leaders and those who are being led—the citizens. In the spirit of consensus I would like to say a few words about this subject in more accurate terms. The essence of the matter is that behind the national, comprehensive consensus which took shape in Hungary following consolidation, and particularly during the sixties and the seventies, their

emerged an opportunity for the strengthening of local consensus. In other words, while citizens increasingly felt that they have gained authority regarding the affairs of the country, the sense of responsibility for the functioning of local communities also increased. I could also put it this way: if in a country there is no opportunity to experience existence as a citizen, and the citizen functions in a manner deprived from his rank and degraded, in a subordinate situation, we cannot count on the citizen to rise above that position within local communities.

Accordingly, the choice of developing a democracy throughout the country was in every way a precondition for the strengthening of local communities. This was the essence of the national consensus. And it was from this essence that the fermentation of interest in local affairs had its start. Reform initiatives undoubtedly played a role with respect to all this, and so did the fact that from among all forms of communal coexistence we paid greater attention also to workplace democracy, and that later, especially in recent years, initiatives saw the light of day which drove management in the direction of self-regulation and self-governance first in agriculture, and subsequently within industrial organizations—briefly: the political conditions for such communal transformation evolved which, I repeat, yielded more room, greater opportunities for local interests.

I could also put it this way: in this ensemble the development of democracy in Hungary preceded the satisfaction of financial and technical conditions for needs that flow from democracy. After all, here too, for instance, we have a chance to greet representatives from 37 television stations—if my figures are correct—this number however, is still too low if we consider the total need of the country. On the other hand, it is a very great achievement, and a result that engenders confidence, if we consider the experiences of earlier years.

This is one point of view to which I wanted to call attention by all means: the general democratization program in the country is the political condition for the development of democracy at the local level. But by now this relationship is undergoing change. Because with respect to basic institutions (particularly since the enactment of the election law, and since the CC resolution concerning the work of Parliament and of the councils) the development of democracy is progressing further in a certain direction. At present the basic issue is in what ways the local democracies are able to relate to the national developmental program.

From this standpoint, something called self-governance and self-regulation, a matter I have briefly referred to before, has very great significance. Candid discussion before the community, and openness are preconditions for the functioning of self-governance and self-regulation. And from this standpoint the manner in which the mutual relationship between leaders and those who are being led evolves in the life of a community, a city (or in

the life of a large enterprise, a production cooperative or a state farm, which provides employment for a large municipality or to a resort town) is of particular significance. Namely, this is the fundamental issue of democratic self-governance. It is an issue of confidence. Decisions concerning this confidence always start at elections and with elections, of course. They do not start primarily on television, not in newspapers columns nor on radio waves. They begin at the elections. It is at elections that decisions are made whether those elected represent the genuine common will of a city, a municipality, a local society, or whether their election was a matter of formality, in want of the common will.

If the common will indeed becomes embodied in the institutions of leading bodies and officials, then the precondition of confidence is given for the normal evolution of an approach between the leaders and those who are being led, pursuant to the rules of democracy. In this respect the greatest turning point always presents itself in the issue of whether the community can empower such people who are capable of establishing requirements in the course of fulfilling their tasks, their functions. This is the issue of confidence in terms of the community that empowers. And this is where openness enters the picture. Namely, if a leader keeps secret his intentions, his arguments and his preparatory means needed for decision making, or if he simply has no means to publicize these, under tough conditions that leader will lose that confidence in a matter of five minutes. And he will find himself in conflict with the community which he was elected to serve. Accordingly, I feel that it is not some dripping sense of loyalty, but actual democratic interest which demands that the relationship between leaders and those who are being led—a relationship which evolved in the course of debates—shall not be fundamentally laden with conflicts, but instead should be fundamentally consensual, having a cooperative intent.

At this point we have reached another delicate issue in the context of managing openness. And by now I am speaking of television, of local, urban television. I believe that the ones who manage this tool (i.e., local television) well, are those who make use of it with the objective of establishing consensus, of molding the common will. Yes, but even in local societies it is not the identity of interests, but differences in interests that characterize human relations.

Just as in Hungarian society [at large], also local societies reach a significant part of their decisions on the basis of serving one's interest, and pushing to the background, or outright violating another's. Keeping silent about this fact also serves to deteriorate confidence. Also this problem must be handled in public and openly before the community. Because foundations for a decision can be established only if in the preparatory phase they did not spare those informational and other means and opportunities which would make clear whose interests are being served and who will be obliged to surrender his

interests for a shorter or longer period of time, or to admit that in its final consequences the decision may be useful for him too. (For example, by discovering that the integration of the community will be sustained, and that the life of an entire municipality or city will not disintegrate, will not become conflict laden.)

I am circumscribing this problem in such a complicated manner because this is the foundation issue regarding local television: whether the leaders who were entrusted this medium will understand that what is needed is not quick success, but the sensing of points of resistance. Local television does not simply fulfill a propagandistic informational function, it is not the medium that communicates the will of the leaders. Instead, local television represents an opportunity for getting involved in politics, a possibility for participation, a path toward the already so oft-mentioned consensus, to the functioning of the policy of alliances.

In this case also, like so many times in the affairs of democracy, the gravest counterpoint could be the questioning of a need for communal decision. And for participation by the community. Not all matters need to be decided by the community, and the community need not participate in all matters, but with respect to political issues the decision and participation of the community is always necessary. In these days we frequently refer to events that take place in the Soviet communist party. I would like to quote Gorbachev's words: he said that without socialism there is no democracy, without democracy there is no socialism. A statement like this would have been anathema 10 years ago, even though the idea was always present in the sources of the workers' movement and of scientific socialism.

Without socialism there is no democracy, without democracy there is no socialism. This means that a grown-up and participating society is needed, in which the dignity of citizenship flows from the authority that rests with citizenship. It is possible that this situation will, for a shorter or longer period of time, make decisions more difficult, but we can count on expending as much energy on implementation, as the amount of energy we have spent on preparing for decision making. And the amount of energy we save in the course of preparing for decisions, we will lose the same amount in implementation, in our involvement in implementation. This is a kind of logic and rule that applies to all decisions of a political nature, one that no government, no system was able to circumvent. In places where they tried to organize detours around this rule—because there were examples of such efforts in the history of socialism also—the whole venture boomeranged sooner or later. This is so, because the practice of this indulgence in the decision-making process for too long surfaces some contradictions which discontinue society's willingness to cooperate too soon. And in local societies, regarding local television programming, one of the most essential questions is whether the community is inclined to cooperate and whether it is prepared to accept solidarity.

Because the extent to which people plan their private lives in isolation and through private programs, is also the extent to which society as a whole will fall apart. And the signs of this are noticeable in today's Hungarian social processes. I believe that whoever denies this fact, has not yet confronted the problems of our everyday life. And in relation to the principles of self-governance and self-regulation—the greatest inventions of scientific socialism—we must also state that confidence toward the institutions is being manifested by those citizens who have received something from those institutions already. But to receive something in Hungary is tantamount to receiving a donation. And in this respect we must confront yet another problem in the relationship between the state and the citizens. This circumstance is the fact that in the first phase of socialist construction the time and the world in which institutions appeared in the image of the state as providers lasted too long [sic]. Initiative and the relationship to initiative was a relationship subject to permission, it evolved pursuant to the extent that permit was granted, and therefore the citizen became accustomed to having a right to receive something. He never had an accurate perception of what he would have to give. Today we complain that people conduct themselves in an infantile manner, that they degrade themselves, and that in the framework of this infantile conduct they provoke standoffs and conflicts, express their dissatisfaction and attest to a bad general feeling. But if we seek out the fundamental reasons for this, we find that we are not confronting a product of today's situation which is burdened with crisis phenomena, but that instead we are facing a problem of arrangements. The arrangement, by which for a long period of time—for understandable, and historically plausible reasons—we were able to perceive society only in terms of a purely hierarchical stratification, one that discontinued the relative autonomy of people and the opportunities for sovereign decision making. Irrespective of whether there is, or there is not a crisis, the necessary consequence of this system is that everyone feels that he is in an adverse situation, wherever he happens to be. He finds unsatisfied needs where he happens to find employment, even at the uppermost levels of the hierarchy.

This can be changed only by consistently applying the principles of socialism, which are synonymous with the principles of democracy. Only in this way can a society, in which the sense of responsibility has sunk to the lowest point, transform itself into a community of citizens. This is not so for genetic reasons. As Hungarians, we are not programmed that way, and East Europe was not born that way, God did not create it that way—instead: These conditions took shape during a forced period of history. We must transcend this period, and in order to do so we must make the kind of progress I spoke of before.

What does local television have to do with this? Local television's primarily and most significant [relevance in this respect is] whether its political orientation will indeed develop according to these socialist principles,

and whether it can establish the opportunity for cooperation in the relationship between the leaders and those being led. I could mention an abundance of PPF experiences which would demonstrate that indeed there is a preparedness to cooperate among people, among the members of local communities. Wherever the nature of openness was understood—the essence of glasnost, the word accorded to this concept on a widespread international scale—cities and municipalities have embarked upon the road to open social associations and ventures.

From among these opportunities I would like to mention the experience of social work in community development, and would like to cite experiences related to the establishment of associations.

Social work in community development, aided not to the least by the means of local television, the local press and other means of mass communications, has become one of the positive manifestations of the Hungarian sphere of social activities. I would not state that this movement includes no irrelevancies, lies and falsifications. But that is not of the essence. The emergence of social work in community development represents the most constructive form in which the opportunities provided by the state budget are put to use as well as critiqued. This is so because it is at these points that a citizen first experiences that he is not simply an integrated part of a state that provides, but that there is room for action for the molding of his own circumstances and civilized conditions, and that in the framework of such activities the recognition of local interests has a tremendous role, significance. It is no coincidence that within one year some small cities have accumulated more national assets through community development social work, than what the entire country is willing to contribute for the construction of the National Theatre.

There is no citizen participation in instances where the program and the movement misses its target. On occasions when they hit the target—and in terms of the local public only these means are operational—one can count on involvement and participation. I repeat: one can count on participation, on real participation, not on citizens who have been worked over. In this tight economic world which deteriorates the circumstances of our lives, or does not influence favorably our lives, last year the national wealth increased by more than 16 billion forints as a result of social work in community development. This is more than one percent of the state budget, even though that contains functional conditions also, and not simply developmental programs.

This is an important fact, and I dwelled on this example for so long only because it also reveals something about human conduct. I repeat: in this area too we find some who are reluctant, who participate in this kind and similar undertakings in a constrained manner, sometimes simply complaining. But it is the total experience that is important, the most important aspect of which is that people in this country are willing to work to their

limits, if they themselves are able to measure the consequences of their actions, and feel that they can shape their own circumstances. And any sermon that summons people to work, which disregards the fact that people can influence their own circumstances, is fundamentally mistaken.

The other matter pertains to associations. In Hungary today there no longer is a legal barrier for citizens to involve associations in the functioning of local society, and to convey their own perceptions through associations. And there is no political barrier either to this kind of action. The political [sphere] not only tolerates, but stimulates individual associations and the establishment of associations.

And yet, what causes uncomfortable feelings in many areas and many different kinds of areas with respect to the establishment of associations and regarding association movements? [Such feelings] exist in part because for a long period of time such matters were deemed not only as undesirable, but were considered prohibited. And one should not be amazed about this, because the inner logic of the system—in Hungary the associations were shut down in 1949—evolved in the 1950's in a manner according to which there was one center of wisdom, which knew exactly what the societal interest is, and what the people need. And if wisdom had a single source, and if such wisdom is also theoretically perfectly appropriate, including from the standpoint of power and organization, then all other kinds of breathing space and initiative is deviance at best, and the work of the enemy at worst. In and of itself this is a coherent system according to an abstract logic. It had only one flaw: Not even a single point of this system was proven correct by reality. Reality simply avoided it until it turned into a crisis, and at that point it drew horrible consequences—we know. It would be useless to talk about this, the lessons and experiences of this had been mentioned enough times last year. As a result of MSZMP policies, and precisely at the initiative of the party—and it is important that I make this statement—the earlier situation underwent a change to a significant degree. By now we know that socialism too is a society in which the societal interest prevails amid the struggle between the special interests, and through conflicting interests. Accordingly, societal interest that prevails by way of conflicting interests is not like an altar-piece, like the shining column of cloud that led the chosen people out of the desert—one must also establish breathing room for such societal interests. And among the political consequences of all this we find the that the principle of interest representation prevails—a principle which a few sister-nations are still reluctant to acknowledge. In other words this amounts to the recognition of a view, according to which one should not take amiss if those who were organized and established for the purpose of representing an interest, fulfill their role. This was the essence of the May 1966 CC resolution, and it is this resolution which prompted other resolutions concerning trade unions, women's movement and other matters.

The consequences of interest representation must be pursued in public and through the means of the public, because as soon as we fail to do so, there evolve political conflicts and dysfunctional organization, and it is the reconciliation of interests that fails to be accomplished. What remains is the clashing of interests, the continuous state of jelly, an uncristallized mass of situations, in which everyone endeavors to compromise at all times. The most frequent argument against democracy is that it delays decisions, and therefore decisions are not effective. This is an error. It is precisely the organizational recognition of interest representation and of the clashing of interests which proves that the least number of compromises must be included into decisions which have a basis. In other words, one knows exactly whose interest is served by a decision, and on whose involvement one can count on. But our decisions—mostly because we are afraid to consistently carry out the standpoint of the interest and the view represented by the interest—contain compromises in which the original conception could not be recognized by those who fathered those decisions. No one claims the decision to be his own, and therefore no one feels an obligation to participate in the implementation of the decision. But everyone knows what his own interest is, and in the process of implementation wants that interest to prevail—an interest for which an opportunity was not established within the decision-making process.

Do such situations occur in local decision making? I believe such situations do occur at the local level, just as they do in decisions at the national level. But I must say, that it will take some further steps in the functioning at the national level before local functioning can follow this principle with more success, and on better foundations. In my view the entire election law was such a step. But it is unquestionable, for instance, that although there are no legal and political barriers in the way of associations and of establishing associations, prejudices and bad habits sometimes place barriers in the way of associations. What principle should we propagate here—if I may use that term—through television, through local television (and through local communication media) the same way as we do on the national scale. The principle should be that there is no monopoly on truth. On their own volition, the greatest variety of people may contribute to societal recognitions and to common action, and therefore initiative does not represent opposition to the functioning of the system, instead it has the potential of increasing the effectiveness of the functioning of the system.

Are there some silly, immature and unsuitable associations? Yes, there are. We have witnessed a good number of those. But it is also a principle of democracy—and this too was first expressed within the Hungarian reform resolution—that decisions must be made where the necessary interest and information emerges jointly, in a concentrated fashion. Because it is at that place that the consequences of the decision are borne. Our system of responsibility has been washed away and has become

messy because we did not allocate responsibility at the place where decisions were made. Also this is why the citizen was viewed as an infant. They used to say that the Hungarian people are immature for democracy. That we do not have democratic traditions. But Hungarian society has proved over centuries that it is prepared for self-governance and for association in places where it acquires a conscious sense of dignity, and can live and work in a dignified fashion.

The essence, I repeat, rests with the decision. Every person will conduct himself like a mature citizen if responsibility is assigned to the decision-maker. But still on the subject of associations: we must permit silly, primitive, and not serious associations and intents to associate to die and to be forgotten. One must not elevate organizational efforts into the sacred sphere, and view these as the foundation institutions of the system as soon as they come into being. If we do, we will really live our lives tied into knots, continuously. Accordingly, yet another relationship pertains to this matter: if we clarify the decision-making relationship in the manner described above, and the essence of that is that we do not experience pain and torture if an intent to associate ceases to exist because of the inaptness of its organizers, or because of ill-founded goals or unsuitable methods. Let them go, and let them expire from the world of initiatives with God's word. Because as the proverb has it, if someone says "a" he also must say "b." If we say "yes" to associations, we can do so only on the logic that we are not responsible for something we did not participate in doing or creating. The ones who created it are responsible. In examining the order, the system and the structure of openness of local television and local mass-communications, we should start out from the point that the essence of the history of European political thought is that only such power is decent which views its functioning as a service. And it is from this standpoint that mass-communication media and other powers become powers.

First let me say something about the relationship of professionalism and democracy, however. I know well that among the operators of local television many perform their work on an amateur basis. This does not mean a lack of professionalism—so that no one misunderstands my words. Here and now and in this context by using the term amateur I mean one who pursues this activity not as a primary occupation, a paid television employee, but as a participant or delegate of a local community. In this connection I would like to mention only two viewpoints. First: In discussing the relationship of the leaders and those who are being led I said that there is no monopoly on truth. I believe that our colleagues in television, and our friends who function in local television should also apply this human principle upon themselves. And sometimes they must also assume risks. This, of course, is not debatable, since what is being offered to the public one way or another, may violate the interests of local power sometimes. Naturally, in order to ensure that the consequence of such incidents

do not necessarily manifest themselves in retaliation, appropriate security and guarantees must be provided in places where there is confidence on part of the leaders, and also on part of local, social and political organization leaders. But I will repeat: The roles would be exchanged, and the functioning of local television would suffer very large disadvantages, were they to promote themselves as the local champions of truth. Their personal conviction should be the expression and the service of the truth. Accordingly, so that in this respect I should not cause any misunderstanding either: I am not speaking about viewpoints that are founded on conviction and on the press law, instead, I am talking about one's self-view and the ability to evaluate oneself, so that in the event a phenomenon makes me feel dissatisfied, I should become informed in depths and fundamentally concerning the reasons for that phenomenon. Before I would write a judgment about that phenomenon. And I would particularly caution my television colleagues not to assume the role of the one who calls judgments. Not because they may find themselves in conflict with the ones they question, but because they can place themselves into difficult situations, because, and I repeat, this applies equally to leaders and citizens, that there is no monopoly on truth, and there is no monopolist who holds the truth.

Wanting to limit openness is far from me. I am recommending all this as a matter of self-defense, not stemming from existential considerations, but out of political considerations in order to permit the standpoints of democracy to prevail. Because just as it is difficult to tolerate an intolerant leader who does not know patience, it is at least as difficult to tolerate an intolerant communication medium. For this reason I believe—staying with the subject of local society and local politics—that good television is not one that compromises and performs certain services for the leadership. Instead good television is one which is capable to involve itself in molding openness as the co-creator of local policies. And this is a different role already. In other words, it is the same as that of the citizen.

It is necessary and worthwhile to realize local television programming in a manner so that as a result public confidence between the leaders and those who are being led, between institutions and voting citizens gains strength, and so that public confidence not be deprived of public social critique either, nor of a lack of recognition of accomplishments. It is also the responsibility of local communities to see to it that local society progresses along the path of the general democratic development of the country, and not in the direction of division, the disintegration of the consensus.

12995

**Reduced Foreign Affairs Budget Discussed**  
*25000088a Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian*  
*5 Dec 87 p 4*

[Text] From our correspondent.

The Foreign Affairs Committee of the National Assembly—holding its due session yesterday and headed by Matyas Szuros, the Chairman of the Committee and Secretary of the Central Committee of the HSWP—listened to reports in three topics. Janos Peter, Vice Chairman of the National Assembly was also present.

The representatives were briefed about the Vienna follow-up conference on the questions of European security and cooperation by Ambassador Andre Erdos, about the plans of next year's budget by Deputy Minister Peter Kovari, and about the international activity of Hungarian churches and the relationships of church policy and foreign relations, by Undersecretary of State Imre Miklos, director of the State Office of Church Affairs.

Andre Erdos's report suggested that political decisions leading to compromises would be necessary so that the Vienna conference can successfully complete its work by the planned Easter date. He also pointed out that the Vienna conference does not reflect the general political developments of East-West relations. This is especially true for the solution to problems related to the human dimension, which at the present time is the most delicate area of the whole follow-up conference. Disarmament questions are also of great significance in Vienna, because never has the military component played such an important role in the human dimension as now. With regard to the issue of economic cooperation, Andre Erdos said that, in all probability, the Vienna conference will prepare an adequate framework for the further promotion of East-West economic cooperation.

Next year, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs will continue its activity with a budget of reduced real value. However, by regrouping, introducing temporary restrictions and increasing its revenues, the Ministry wishes to offset the deficit to avoid its harmful impact on our country's foreign policy activity, implied Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs Peter Kovari in his report. The representatives were informed that this makes it possible for us, among other things, to open a representation in Tel-Aviv and new main consulates in Ho Shi Minh City and Munich. The Hungarian churches enjoy great international prestige—said Imre Miklos. He explained this with the fact that their activity is built on the harmonious relationship between the churches and the state. Their international activity and the international events they organize domestically form a very valuable part of the foreign relations of the Hungarian People's Republic, worthy of appreciation and further support, stated the Undersecretary of State.

Observations concerning the content of the reports were made by Ivan Boldizsar, Sandor Barcs, Gyula Nagy, Alfred Schoner, Janos Fekete, Mrs Lajos Duscek and Miklos Barabas.

In quest of measures, a representative raised the topic of the negative phenomenon of anti-semitic manifestations recently noticed at and around soccer fields. Other

representatives repeatedly asked questions with respect to the situation of the Hungarian nationality living outside our borders. On the basis of their experiences acquired in the course of their work they reported that a number of those arriving in our country with valid travel documents ask for assistance in order to be able to legally remain in Hungary. Those making observations emphasized that the procedure of Hungarian state institutions, which is in accordance with our general aspirations and takes into consideration the humanistic points of view, leaves some questions unsolved. They urged that in accordance with the real situation—the country's interests and the generally accepted international norms, a solution for the settlement of the problem be worked out as soon as possible.

On the recommendation of Matyas Szuros, the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the National Assembly accepted all three reports. In his closing speech, the chairman of the Committee stressed that in the country's present difficult situation, the national unity and, within that, the continuance of the churches' activity, is an indispensable prerequisite for carrying out the government's program.

13212

## POLAND

**Central Party Member on Health of Party,  
Ideological Differentiation**  
26000142 Poznan GAZETA POZNANSKA in Polish  
31 Dec 87-3 Jan 88 p 3

[Interview with Edward Erazmus, Central Committee member and Academy of Social Sciences professor, by Wieslaw Kandziora: "Whom the Party Supports and Whom It Is Against"]

[Text] [Question] I propose adopting as the motto of this interview the declaration contained in the report of the Politburo of the PZPR Central Committee to the Fourth PZPR Central Committee Plenum: "We reject the oversimplified notion that anyone who criticizes the party's activities is its opponent." As a party theoretician known for your pithy and precisely critical formulations, what activities of the PZPR necessitate special branding and combatting, in your opinion?

[Answer] I have already more than once written on this topic—so often that I must admit that at times I have been suspecting myself of being in the grip of an obsession so far as the identification and emphasis of deficiencies in the functioning of both the party and our political system are concerned. Still, we are only at the beginning of the road of changes, at the beginning of a restructuring of the party, and, so far as both its "internal" and "external" operations are concerned, failure to perceive objective weaknesses or even deviations is a mistake, because it precludes the possibility of overcoming them.

[Question] But some of these weaknesses were more or less accepted within the party....

[Answer] Yes. For example, there are the social structure of the party and its composition by age, which, as known, is deteriorating with each year. However, these are weaknesses, not deviations. As for deviations, I would interpret them as, for example, the habit of arbitrary resolution of problems by the party's decisionmaking centers, beginning with the lowest and ending with the highest echelons. This is particularly dangerous, because it is based on the absence of openness [jawnosc—the Polish glasnost]. Hence the still frequent tendency toward armchair decisionmaking within the party, and sometimes even toward an armchair style of information sharing. It is simply that the information provided to a privileged group of party members is broader and confidential, compared with the [less important] information provided to others who are either mistrusted or thought not fit to know too much.

[Question] This may be due to the belief that knowledge is power.

[Answer] Yes. Three years ago I had formulated, on the basis of observations of intraparty life, the thesis, for which I was criticized, that in the party (and not only in the party) we face the danger of the so-called presidial democratic system which is reduced to depriving representative bodies of their power in favor of their presidiums—or, in the case of the party, in favor of its executive boards. This results in the formation of narrow decisionmaking centers whose wisdom is not, after all, the wisdom of the social groups they represent, being merely the wisdom of decisionmakers and eventually of those with access to decisionmaking centers. The PZPR, too, has not as yet overcome such tendencies and, as a result, we observe the existence of two parties, as it were: the functioning and the ratifying parties. This causes a kind of paralysis of the party authorities, beginning with plant party committees and party meetings and ending with the Central Committee itself. Their members attend meetings, take the floor, and ratify resolutions without, in most cases, deciding on their text.

[Question] Recently, however, public and party-membership consultations have become widespread and are regarded as a symbol of the democratization of life in Poland and within the party—as an example, consider the consultations of party members prior to Central Committee sessions.

[Answer] But as for me, I view such consultations as yet another danger to the party. In a sense, they impoverish the plenary meetings [of the Central Committee] because their [the Central Committee's?] members, while to be sure gathering information through their discussions with rank-and-file membership, experience "burnout" owing to countless routine discussions. As for the plenary sessions themselves, as a consequence they are somnolent and conflict-free, and the comments offered

during them are obtuse. The social consequences of such consultations prior to the Central Committee plenums are thus considerable, because the jejune speeches made at the plenums are publicized in the mass media and considered, and not infrequently also commented upon, as lacking "life." Besides, I believe that such consultations are not always regarded by the Central Committee members themselves as a possibility for understanding more deeply the problems of working people; rather, they merely serve to reach a kind of papered-over accord causing the plenum participants to be in a "ratifying mood" as it were.

[Question] This raises the question of what I consider to be another weakness of the party. It may adopt a sagacious and astute resolution that encompasses the whole of the party reality, but as for the implementation of that resolution, that is another matter. Is the party bureaucracy, which does not release below, or does not adapt central resolutions to the needs of the party grassroots, to blame? Or perhaps is it that the central party authorities overidealize, so to speak, the possibilities of the grassroots party membership for implementing their resolutions?

[Answer] No. After all, it is not only the central resolutions that at times remain on paper; the recommendations of plant party committees and basic party organizations, or even of party groups, also are not implemented. Thus, this is not a question of some top-to-bottom "passage capacity." I have been pondering this problem for a long time, but I must admit that to this day I am not certain of the causes of such a situation—I can only offer hypotheses. In my opinion, it is simply that the problem of the formulation itself of the resolutions has not been resolved: they still largely represent glittering ideological and axiological generalizations. Seemingly they are all-encompassing, but their implementation at a particular workplace engenders problems. For example, a resolution may state that the party supports social justice, but it lacks even a general proposition defining the instruments to be used in implementing the reform and identifying the opponents and allies in such implementation. In this way, an otherwise valid idea becomes sloganeering and is in this form transmitted to the grassroots. In view of this, is it surprising that the resolutions of local party organizations sound like Central Committee resolutions and contain the same generalizations?

[Question] This is one hypothesis. What about the others?

[Answer] In my opinion, the biggest impediment to the implementation of resolutions are the diverse interests of various social groups. So long as resolutions take no account of these interests, the question of who is impeding their implementation and why, will remain unanswered and they themselves will remain empty and meet with no response even though they may be sonorous.

[Question] How are group interests to be interpreted?

[Answer] I believe that despite everything the division into conservatives and reform supporters remains most valid. In party politics such a division is warranted, or even necessary. Of course, I, too, am opposed to witch-hunting based on superficial judgments, comments, etc. However, the existence of such tendencies in theory and practice cannot be overlooked. For conservatism is an objective phenomenon and has its own social base and traditional organizational forms. After all, office holders—including state administrators—represent a genuine peril if they are opponents of the economic reform. They work in institutions and have opportunities for communicating with each other and reaching a consensus rapidly, and they share the same interests. Disregarding this issue and the question of where conservatism is most often located can cause harm.

[Question] Recently you said that the party needs restructuring [przebudowa—the Polish perestroika]. In what direction?

[Answer] I believe this to be a fundamental issue. In my opinion, the PZPR nowadays consists of two parties, as it were—a Leninist party, and a Stalinist one—and the attendant concepts interpenetrate each other. Thus, speaking most generally, the restructuring should consist in the development by the party of new or modified theories based on the study of the reality. It also should consist in discarding dogmas that hamper the development of social and economic relations and in restructuring the so-called inviolable principles.

[Question] Which of the dogmas still operating within the party are to be regarded as dangerous to the party's own further growth?

[Answer] There are several. They are: The dogma of the transition period [of socialism], which assumes a short duration of that period; the dogma of the ownership of means of production, according to which the highest form of ownership is reached when means of production are in the hands of the state administration; the dogma of the steady strengthening of the party, of attributing to the party the qualities of being revolutionary and progressive and believing that the party cannot fall ill with the disease of conservatism, although in reality it is ill and its illness is that of conservatist opportunism. Then also there is the dogma that revisionism is something worse than dogmatism, than sectarianism, although, as known, dogmatism too can grab socialism by the throat. Moreover, the party must free itself of the oversimplified Stalinist Marxism, which is attractive in the sense that it is easy to learn and provides an oversimplified explanation of the reality. Besides, many more such dogmas could be mentioned. I personally believe that so long as science and our political ideologists ignore the need for a truly scientific investigation of this field combined with

the abandonment of the promotion of the already existing accomplishments of theory [as published], we shall continue to churn within the closed circle of the same myths.

[Question] Do you then believe that the party nowadays is ready for carrying out reforms and piloting them "at the top" and "at the bottom"?

[Answer] From the standpoint of theory it is certainly better prepared than it had been in the 1970s. It has supporters of the reform, and it has gained definite experience, including quite a few bad experiences, and it also has its own complexes, which prompt it to listen more attentively to public opinion, although of course it happens now and then that some or other worker of the party apparat has not rid himself of excessive self-assurance. It also is more open—though not completely—to the suggestions of science. But there still remains the question of whether the tasks assumed by the party in the present circumstances, in connection with the economic reform....

[Question] Transcend its possibilities?

[Answer] They do not transcend the possibilities of the administration [the government], which is to implement the party's recommendations, that is, they do not transcend the possibilities of a party which rules through the mediation of its members who occupy principal government offices. Hence also, as I see it, these recurrent difficulties, because real life is complex and the template becomes worn in places. It may be that we are hardly capable of identifying on our own the nature and site of pain, and even if we do, the prescription for eliminating that pain is lacking. The more so considering that, as we are aware, there exist forces which have no interest in either leftist or rightist hardline [as published] solutions. Such dilemmas are difficult, and hence I expect this to be a prolonged process, even though I myself also at times dream of its being shorter.

[Question] Perhaps we could try to identify those mysterious forces which are complicating or torpedoing finding the right solution. Where are they to be found?

[Answer] The point is that they are not always to be found within the party and state leadership alone. Because the leadership does not always resist change. I mean rather the resistance of inertia—the residues of previous methods of rule as well as traditional mentalities and habits. After all, conveniences and comfort in exercising power are not foreign to all "haves." The warehouse director, the physician, and the individual who can but does not have to sell a windshield wiper pump, all are "haves." To such people, who abuse their official positions or sell goods "under the counter," the present situation is extremely convenient, because the "have-nots" fawn on them while they themselves are relieved of the role of serving the society. And what about us? We approach them cap in hand. It is a very

important position being a director of POLMOZBYT [Automotive Parts Stores], of a warehouse, or being a hospital director, or even being a salesgirl in a butcher shop where the authorities, too, have to stand in a queue for meat [as published]. Can the party cope with such manifestations considering that they precisely provide the basis for the revival and recovery of arrogance and promotion of personal gain? I think that the party must, sooner or later, overcome this hydra within itself, because after all there is no other way out. Let it then gather its strength, let it reform itself, reject dogmas, explore theories that fit the reality, and, lastly, cut itself off from the command-directive system. After all it would be a mistake to think that "the Kubiak Report," the resolutions of the Ninth Congress, are by now mere history. [Question] Thank you for the interview.

1386

**Youth Apathy Toward Party Discussed**  
*26000087b Katowice TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 5 Oct 87 p 3*

[Article by Adam Molenda: "Where Do These Expectations Come From?"]

[Text] Discussion with an untypical and sometimes controversial party member can be difficult and often thankless but there are really few other ways to gain PZPR members.

For example, in the Bielsko-Biala voivodship party organization, members in the 18-35 year age range amounted to barely 2.5 percent of everyone in this region. In the last few years, the number of new candidates under 29 years of age has constantly dropped. Although last year marked a turning point in that for the first time in quite a while there were more new members than resignations and dismissals in this age group, this is still no cause for excessive optimism.

Why do young people not want to be in the party? On various occasions, I submitted this question to youth that have never been members of any organizations, to youth organization activists, party members under the age of 30 and secretaries at various levels of the party. Here are some fragments of the answers we received.

The principal cause of the lack of youth joining the party is the fact that people have hard lives. Economic problems, rising prices, shortages and speculation, and the weakened prestige of the party have caused a reluctant and critical attitude toward the government. For all of these reasons and their lack of time, people also avoid doing social work. We must again remember the specific conditions in Bielsko-Biala, most of whose inhabitants are peasant-workers who spend their days equally divided between work at their places of employment and at their mini-farms.

Of course, many young people and especially those who live in town and are working but have not yet started families do have free time but prefer to spend it in a more popular fashion. Youth today are deliberately apolitical and avoid joining any organization. They meet their peers in informal groups in which the social hierarchy is established by who has the most money, their own video cassette recorder or home computer. Those who own such things are the elite around whom the others gather. We must also realize that not only the youth organizations but also the party have lost their attraction for youth because they do not offer them the cultural values they seek. In other words, youth wonder why they should attend some boring party meeting or event organized for others when every home has a television or radio on which they can listen to rock music or when from even the most remote village, they can take a half-hour bus ride into town to go to the movies or to a disco.

Here is a question that most potential candidates are asked when they apply for party membership: "Will membership in the PZPR benefit me and give me personal satisfaction?" In most cases, the answer would have to be negative. First of all, the mother organization can help with one's professional advancement but few young people are interested in gaining a position of leadership at their jobs. Wages are no incentive because those who are advanced usually take financial losses. And how can one talk about the satisfaction of membership in a POP [primary party organization] or workplace party organization when these bodies are meaningless where they are organized and do not even try to have any meaning? Why join an organization that serves as a mouthpiece for the director, is sleepy, has no initiative, does not represent the workers' viewpoint on important issues, adopts resolutions that are worth nothing more than the paper they are printed on and holds meetings at which the participants sit silently knowing that anything they say will go unnoticed? After all, that is just what many of the party organizations are.

[Missing text] extreme character. Some feel that this is nothing, in other words, that they ought to wait until the public mood improves, when the country has better prospects for growth and until we can with open arms welcome people willing and eager to join us. Others have suggested the need for "strike" actions.

This is extreme and as a rule, it is never good. It also seems that it would be hard to think of anything new or better than the traditional methods. They are used with success made visible in the number of young new members received by the regional party organizations in Zywiec, Wadowice, Sucha Beskidzka, Andrychow, Skoczow, Jelesnia and Spytkowice and in places of employment of special interest to the Central Committee as well as the party organizations at the Bielsko-Biala Passenger Automobile Works and the Andropol Cotton Mill in Andrychow.

The general method is systematic and nearly-everyday conversation with people who have distinguished themselves at their work, are critical of irregularities that they have observed, are engaged in social action needed by some organization and are not afraid to speak out on the sensitive issues of their communities. These people should be sought out and spoken with not only by the POP or OOP secretaries but also by executive board members. It is true that discussion with an untypical member and sometimes even controversial person can be difficult and often even thankless but the party has few other means of obtaining new members. It is true that some people join the party on their own initiative but experience shows that most of them wait until a party organization takes the first step. This is seen even in the case of the Worker's Aktiv Schools that have usually been able to produce new members. Obviously, it is hard to expect that all graduates will join the party as a group but the party organizations do feel that the course of studies offered at the schools does encourage them to do so. The expected results cannot be gained from dialogue if a party activist cannot argue more convincingly than his partner in conversation. However, that is another problem in itself.

Youth organizations can be the party's only helper in recruiting new members. I use the word helper because many party secretaries seem to think that the youth organizations are supposed to serve as "goads" for driving people into the party ranks and let PZPR plant committees fall into peaceful somnolence. They can indeed be helpers but very often are not and somewhere along the way lose the young people that would benefit the party.

Party members who also belong to the ZSMP [Union of Polish Socialist Youth] should remind their parent party organizations that they have the right to use their power to recommend new members. There are too many such organizations that meet specifications but do not have such powers. In the PZPR workplace organizations and the local ZSMP, Rural Youth Union and Polish Scouting Union organizations that have a sufficient number of members, the PZPR should consider the possibility of creating groups of youth party activists whose participants would have their own individual tasks in preparing non-members for eventual membership in the party.

Results can only be achieved through systematic and hard work.

12261

#### Bialystok PZPR Membership Declining, Workers Lack Interest

26000082a *Bialystok GAZETA WSPOLCZESNA* in Polish 10-11 Oct 87 pp 1, 3

[Article by Ryszard Klimaszewski: "How to Increase the Party's Ranks—Time For the Indifferent"]

[Text] I do not want to generalize things because there is no lack of positive examples but I have the impression that blissful peace has again stolen its way into many of

our primary party organizations [POP]. Yes, they do hold the meetings stipulated by regulations, collect membership fees and the secretaries discuss issues with directors and worker self-management councils but there is still no visible sign of real party work either in the enterprises nor within the POP's themselves. It seems like the old habit of waiting for orders from above has reasserted itself.

It hurts to say that but it is unfortunately true. Despite the profound changes of method and action that were instituted at the 9th Congress and consolidated at the 10th, the recommendations made by the Central Committee and the broad rights granted by the 4th Plenum, the party's numerous POP's cannot overcome the stereotypes in their work, find a place for themselves in their communities nor influence the latter with concrete actions. This has kept them in a state of organizational stagnation and has even caused their already meager ranks to dwindle. As the 4th Plenum which was devoted to the role of POP's stated, one of the most important duties of party organizations is to increase the number of quality of their members.

#### They Came and Went

I have made the statements above not only on the basis of more than my own contacts with POP's and conversations among party organizations. I also base them on the Bialystok Municipal PZPR Committee's evaluations of the effectiveness of the work of POP's and plant committees over the first 6 months of this year. This document stimulates so much thought because it concerns our region's largest party organizations that are active among workers and various academic establishments and institutes and whose activities go beyond the city limits to cover the entire northeastern region of the country.

At the end of June, the Bialystok party organization had 14,400 members and candidates which means that in the first half of this year, it did not grow as planned but actually diminished. Actually, the drop in membership was not all that great but this drop occurred because more members (177 persons) left the party for various and not entirely justifiable reasons than joined (162 candidates). Furthermore, another 35 comrades died.

Without even considering this data, it is still an obvious fact that the stability of membership in the city's party organizations has been shaken. It is especially displeasing that the desired improvements in the professional and age structure of new members have not occurred. Of the 162 new members, only 35 are professionally active workers (and there was a total drop of 27 in the number of bluecollar members) and only 22 new members were under 29 years of age. It is hard to believe that in such a large industrial and university city, the ZSMP [Union of Polish Socialist Youth] organizations have received only three new members.

Many questions come to mind, the chief ones being: what sort of ideological work is being done by the POP's? With an average of four POP's for every new party member in the first 6 months of this year, what kind of ideological work are they doing? Are they doing any at all when 155 of the 547 POP's in the city have not enrolled a single new member over the last two years? There are POP's at the Spomasz and Madro factories, the Betesca, Elektryk and Pogon work cooperatives, the Refrigeration Equipment Industry Enterprise, the Biawar FUW, the Drzewne OPP, the State Puppet Theater, the Basic School of Mechanical Engineering, Textiles, Agriculture and Metallurgy and many other factories, institutions and schools. The POP at the Food Economy Bank has not had a single new member since 1980.

It is obvious that the city's party organization is massive and its members constitute some 7.6 percent of the adult population in Bialystok. The party is active in all social and professional groups and has continuously increased its influence over production, services and the public's standard of living. However, this influence is not enough to meet social and economic needs and their associated tasks because the large number of POP's have not gained in membership and that in itself is a sign of their inefficiency.

#### On the Sidelines?

To the 20th Central Committee Plenum, the 10th Party Congress, the reports and elections campaign and the 4th Central Committee Plenum, it might seem that enough has been said and decided to enhance the POP's prestige in our community. Let us consider the statement made in a Politburo report to the 4th Plenum that "the effectiveness of the party's actions largely depends on how many of us there are, what sort of people we are and whether or not we can be found wherever the most important issues are being resolved." However, there are continually too few of these good instructions for the numerous party organizations which seem to be stuck in some sort of enchanted circle. Nothing can get them moving, even their own evaluations and resolutions.

One may quite naturally ask why this is so. Is it really so hard for the POP's to find a place for themselves at the factories, institutions, universities and schools and neighborhoods? What is stopping them—the economic conditions or the problems of everyday life? Why is it that in large organizations such as those at the Starosielce KZKS and the Bialystok Furniture Factory, one sees solid and innovative work? After all, if the inertia is caused by problems in production and everyday life, then general social and professional activeness is what is needed to overcome them.

The reasons for all of these problems are all well known. They were all discussed and criticized at meetings both before and after the 4th Central Committee Plenum. Almost everyone says that many of the organizations have no lack of common snivelling, helplessness and

indolence. Can we expect anything good from them when some comrades cannot even sit quietly until the end of a meeting? I could mention quite a few POP's in which there were no more than two worthwhile meetings.

Human nature being what it is, everyone knows that not all party members are active. However, if someone is a party member and declares support for the party's programs and policy, he or she cannot remain indifferent that happens within the POP. One cannot shirk off their duties onto the secretaries and more active members because without support, they themselves cannot make much happen where "connections" exist, conflicts occur and therefore where a unified and decisive attitude on the part of party members and honest non-members is most needed.

As experience has shown, the fundamental issue in activating the POP's and increasing their efficiency is the fulfillment of executive tasks. There continues to be too much talk and too little work to rally a large number of active people around the POP's. And as the active participation of non-members in open party meetings shows, there is a growing number of active people.

The demands placed on party members are especially addressed to comrades in management positions. Here is an astonishing fact: in 44 work establishments in Bialystok such as the Poultry Industry Transport Factory with its 116 employees, the Kleosino Regional Directorate for Conservation Work with 246 employees and the Voivodship Agricultural Water Services Enterprise in Zascianki with its 239 employees, there are no POP's at all. One must therefore ask the directors and managers when they will stop relying on the city organizations and try to start up POP's at their own establishments.

I think that we need to take a more energetic course to accelerate changes at the "grass roots" level which is where the tempo and quality of social and economic changes are decided. It is true that life is not easy there and that one must take risks but if anything is to improve, it is necessary to fight with a passion. Good results will only be achieved when the POP's become tight, bold and decisive organizations.

The statements made above can also be applied to many city and town organizations in all of the voivodships in Poland. The image is much the same everywhere—along with the active and highly visible POP's, one also sees ones in which the secretaries have nothing to say because their organizations are not doing anything. And the result? At the last plenum meeting of the Suwalki Voivodship PZPR Committee, it was said that as many of 544 of its POP's have not received a single new member. That is understandable because no one wants to join a sleepy organization. People are joining the ones that deal with all of the issues important to their communities.

12261

### Article Criticizes Placing Inept Officials in High Positions

26000085b Gdansk *GLOS WYBRZEZA* in Polish  
19 Oct 87 pp 1,2

[Article by (hb): "The Engineer and Parsley"]

[Text] Rajmund Chmielewski, our telephone caller asked: "Is it not absurd for a young engineer with a degree to be selling parsley?"

That is obviously absurd. How could anyone say it is not? In our reader's opinion, it would be proper to give engineers the sort of working conditions and wages that they would not have to change professions.

The caller poured out all of the anger and bitterness that he had been holding in for years to Marian Baranowicz who was on telephone duty for our paper then. He had stopped believing in reform and his reason was the absurdities. It is absurd that former ministers who had incompetently managed their ministries are now employed as experts in embassies and other foreign diplomatic posts. It is nonsense that serious mistakes are blamed on lower-ranked personnel rather than the directors, mayors or voivods who approved bad and harmful decisions. In the opinion of our reader, it is pure mockery that we say and write much about perestroyka [restructuring] but draw no conclusions useful to ourselves.

As our readers have shown, there are big absurdities and small ones. All of them affect our life and often make it unbearable. We tolerate waste and bungling (Henryk Gierak complained about the lights on the construction work at the intersection on Ulica Oginskiego being left on without break for three months and the "skeleton" of the shop on Ulica Skrajna in Gdansk) but we manage to have enormous demands. "We talk a lot about what is bad but few of us roll up our sleeves to work hard," said Leszek Przedpelski. According to Barbara Maluta, it is nonsense to produce such bad sausage from good material and in the opinion of Kazimierz Pogonowski, it is also absurd to give responsible positions to unqualified people. An example is the engineer from the Voivodship Sanitary and Epidemiological Station who decided to open up a wing of Primary School No.31 in Gdynia before the start of the school year and then the next day called in to say that he had gotten the wrong school.

12261

### POP Members on Society's View of Party Role in Government

26000085c Gdansk *DZIENNIK BALTYCKI* in Polish  
2 Oct 87 pp 1, 3

[Excerpts from article by Henryk Nowaczyk: "Our Conversations—We Want to Be Credible"]

[Excerpts] The role and tasks of the primary party organizations [POP] is an expression that appears in all sorts of publications and in many important speeches

and reports. There is not always time enough for deeper reflection on why this important party issue, like a boomerang, keeps returning to public discussion.

The conversation to which we invited three POP secretaries is an attempt to find an answer to the question of whether today, in a time of reform and profound changes, activation of the PZPR's primary organizations means as much as it once did.

The participants to this discussion are a doctor from ZOZ No.3 in Gdansk, Elzbieta Krol, Bogdan Pollak of the Gdansk Division of the National Publications Agency and Lech Barnik, a teacher from School No.57 in Gdansk.

[Question] It is a truism to say that the POP's have a quite fundamental position in the party.

[E. Krol] I think that the flow of information within the party is an important matter and any obstruction of it works against the party and its interests.

[Question] It is true that at many meetings, people tend to "hold their tongues" to avoid standing out. Why is it that we say one thing at meetings and other things in our private conversations?

[B. Pollak] There is a dualism of attitudes based on the difference between declarations in certain party documents and their actual realization. The ruling party is responsible for the economy which is, after all, not in good shape. Individuals see economic problems in terms of housing problems, earnings that fail to reward effort and the inability to meet many needs.

The next serious shortcoming is a strange fashion for treating every citizen like a tool and compelling procedures that should really be carried out according to strict regulations.

[Lech Barnik] We, for example, have a "pupil's codex", as if common sense and the ability to make correct choices has disappeared. Aside from that, our institutions do not have much faith in citizens.

[Question] Summarizing these answers, one might say that in our social (and political) life, too little space is devoted to realities and far too much to formalized but superficial actions. If representatives of party organizations, people who feel deeply responsible for the fate of their country and people, are saying this out loud, then that is in itself quite significant.

[E. Krol] It is not true that Poland does not have people with initiative or that they are stifled by a social policy which tells them when to bow, when to applaud and when to smile. People are not mannequins.

To be more exact, the prestige of the POP's depends on the attitudes of the members as well as how these organizations are treated by higher party echelons.

[Question] The public evaluates the party according to what it actually does in Poland.

[B. Pollak] I agree and that also answers the question of why so few people are now joining our ranks. After all, PZPR membership involves a considerable increase in individual moral responsibility and that is a burden that not everyone can carry. It was much easier to get people to join when membership opened the doors to a career. At least, that is what people of little faith and the opportunists believe.

[E. Krol] I would like to again stress what the preceding speaker said: the POP's will be powerful once their postulates fall on fertile ground. Meanwhile, the truth of the matter is that as a rule, no one really listens to us. Without any penetrating force, we cannot gain authority.

[L. Barnik] It is also a mistake for the most important consultations in the party to be held only in the large organizations representing the great industrial working class. It is a paradox that these organizations naturally associated with key industries are not always able to see everything going on outside the walls of their factories. Therefore, they sometimes get a distorted image of things and make bad decisions.

[Question] We have been concentrating on how the everyday, toilsome work of the POP's looks. Maybe in conclusion, let us look at what we expect in order to make this work more effective.

[L. Barnik] Let me answer a question with a question. Do the POP's really fulfill their role as the backbone of our party? Are they really the starting point for democratic centralism? That means all of the party leadership's decisions can be made on the basis of the opinions of the POP's. This is only possible if information can freely flow from top to bottom and the reverse.

[Question] Thank you for the conversation.

12261

**Pre-Referendum PRON Young Generation Forum  
26000078j Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish  
10 Nov 87 p 5**

[Article by (Akow.): "26th Forum of the Young Generation—Is Consistency Enough?"]

[Text] (Own information) What do young people think about the reform program? What should they support and what should they oppose? Does the young generation care about the proposed changes?

These questions were posed by Professor Wladyslaw Szymanski, a member of the Council of State, to open discussion of the 26th Forum of the Young Generation which on 9 November was traditionally held at the headquarters of the PRON National Council. The subject was the economic conditions of reform.

"Young people," said Professor Szymanski, "should be the driving force of reform because, first of all, it concerns their very own welfare and second, they have the greatest predisposition to implement the changes. They still have not had time to develop bad habits or fall into routine. It is to the young generation that the values of reform and therefore activity, enterprise and wages dependent on work results most apply".

Did these arguments convince the participants of the 26th Forum, most of which were young people and school pupils? One may judge that they did because in statements later made during discussions, no one argued with any of those statements. However, many did express fear that this program might suffer the same fate as other good programs from the past. Some asked whether the program would be consistently realized. Some proposed that someone be personally responsible for the program. That is why so little is said about the elimination of inconveniences in everyday life such as in transportation, shopping and services.

Finally, there is the issue of guarantees that the reform will be carried out according to the program. Are there any such guarantees?

In response to the last question, Professor Szymanski pointed out that reform will not be carried out this time on the basis of decrees as in the past but through the laws that can only be changed by the executors of reform or the Sejm.

The forum was also attended by Wincent Lewandowski, undersecretary of state in the Finance Ministry.

12261

**Philosophy Congress Examines New Currents**  
26000078f Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish  
10 Nov 87 p 2

[Unattributed article: "Fifth Congress of Polish Philosophy Begins in Krakow"]

[Text] The Fifth (and second since World War II) Congress of Polish Philosophy began on 9 November in Krakow under the slogan "A Philosophy for the Future." This meeting drew famous scholars of all orientations and philosophical directions in Poland including both Marxist and Catholic philosophers.

Also present were representatives of other disciplines whose research involves philosophical issues.

Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Tadeusz Porebski took part in the opening ceremonies.

12261

**Polonia Society Promotes 'Openness'**

26000078d Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish  
10 Nov 87 p 2

[Unattributed article: "Activities of the 'Polonia' Society"]

[Text] A pledge of openness both in its programs and in forms of further work is the most important feature of the activities of the "Polonia" Society. This fact was emphasized on 9 November in Warsaw during a meeting between the society's directors and journalists.

12261

**OPZZ Focus on Cultural Life of Workers**

26000078i Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish  
5 Nov 87 p 8

[Unattributed article: "Cultural Activation of Worker Groups—OPZZ-ZLP Cooperation—New Newspaper and Joint Initiatives"]

[Text] The National Confederation of Trade Unions [OPZZ] regards the cultural activation of workers and their families as one of its most important tasks.

This was the subject of a 4 November meeting in Warsaw of the presidium of OPZZ's Cultural Commission. Representatives of a task force from the Worker's Artistic Association [RSTK] of the National Cultural Council were invited to this meeting.

Joint initiatives adopted in Siedlce (to publish the quarterly POGŁOSY), Ciechanow (a session on the working culture) and in Wroclaw (a contest, "Professional activation, recreation and culture") were praised. It was also decided to broaden the scope of executive actions by both groups.

A program of cooperation between the OPZZ and Polish Writer's Union was also discussed. This year, the first OPZZ literature prizes will be awarded.

At the beginning of 1988, there will be a symposium on reading at places of work.

A valuable initiative that will be realized next year under patronage of OPZZ and the Ministry of Culture and Art is a review of cultural activities at places of work. It was decided that this enterprise would be organized by the RSTK and the editors of ZWIĄZKOWIEC, INSPIRACJE and TWORCZOSC ROBOTNICZA.

12261

## People's Councils Electoral Law Changes Stimulate Reaction

### Lingering Doubts on Format

26000151 Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish  
No 3, 16 Jan 88 p 6

[Article by Stanislaw Podemski: "Haste Makes Waste: The Electoral Law"]

[Text] The discussion, or more properly, the isolated comments made on the proposed changes of electoral law have barely begun to appear but they already are scheduled to end, because the officially specified discussion period is expiring. This is upsetting to the discussants as well as the PRON [Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth] Executive Committee. In this connection, even this barely embryonic public discussion of the composition of people's councils for the next 4 years is clearly focused on as few as two or three amendments, though many other amendments have been proposed as well. This is to the credit of the discussants, because the disputed amendments happen to be the crucial ones. Persons who take an interest in electoral law and make comments on it are capable of discerning what is good in these proposals. Thus, they speak approvingly of the proposed elimination of privileged spots on [electoral] slates, as well as of the proposed abolition of the validity of ballots on which neither candidate's name is struck out or on which neither "pro" nor "contra" is struck out. The proposed secrecy of balloting has also been welcomed with satisfaction; it may be formulated not very felicitously ("The voter proceeds toward screened premises"), but its intent is clear. On the other hand, proposals perceived as curtailments of the right of choice are eliciting protests. Thus, the so-called voivodship slate is being criticized; this refers to the proposal that 10 to 15 percent of the members of voivodship people's councils continue to be voted as single rather than multiple candidates. To be sure, this is not a significant proportion, but people feel annoyed by the fact that this small group of candidates is to be privileged, particularly honored, and exempt from any competition. I would not ignore such feelings. A similar slate was also in operation as the so-called national slate in the recent elections to the Sejm, and although some of the names on it belonged to prominent Polish politicians, it met with a sharply critical response from both the academic community (which is particularly concerned about the purity of legal formulas) and voters (as also demonstrated by the number of letters received by editors of periodicals). But while such electoral preferences (which, by the way, are encountered not only in Poland) could at least be explained so far as elections to the Sejm were concerned (the necessity of assuring vacancies in the Sejm for special public figures), they appear pretentious so far as elections in such local communities as Ciechanow, Sieradz, or Biala Podlaska are concerned. What individuals deserve such honors? Of course, people like the chairman of the PRON voivodship council or of the voivodship board of the Democratic Party should be included

on the electoral slates, but why all at once in an explicitly prestigious role? Thus, the dispute about the voivodship slate is more of a fundamental than particular nature. It is good that people continue to know how to quarrel over principles, and I will not conceal that I side with those concerned over the democratic purity of principles. As for the second disputed issue, it also is of fundamental importance to future elections, and in this case it does not concern honors or splendors but rather and indeed it is the question of what principle of voter representation should be adopted and what should be the shape of the future membership of the councils.

The range of social institutions, political organizations, and groups authorized to nominate candidates is defined quite broadly; anyway, as previously, it comprises such generally accessible nonelitist bodies as rural or housing-project meetings (though not elements of factory self-government, which has been criticized in some comments). However, the discussants emphatically offer the reminder that the report of the Politburo to the Sixth Central Committee Plenum has also formulated as follows the right to nominate candidates: "Pre-election meetings should also be authorized to nominate candidates for councilmen," while the resolution of the 10th Party Congress recommends, "the expansion and universal introduction of the procedure for the nomination and public scrutiny of candidates to representative bodies."

Thus since these resolutions are not included in the text of the proposed changes of electoral law, such silence is interpreted as the abandonment of a promise made not so long ago. True, the proposals include a novelty, namely, authorizing citizens' conventions under the chairmen of voivodship people's councils to also nominate candidates for councilmen. But, owing to the nature of their membership, affiliation, and scope of powers, such conventions will be more interested in candidates for voivodship people's councils than in candidates for county, city, or borough people's councils. Hence, the question of the right of the pre-election meeting to nominate its own candidates for councilmen remains open, and in the discussion so far this is the most disputed issue. It is, after all, no novelty, being present in Hungarian, Bulgarian, and even Chinese electoral laws.

He who desires to know the truth about people's councils must peruse PROBLEMY RAD NARODOWYCH [Problems of People's Councils], published by the Institute of the State and Law, Polish Academy of Sciences), instead of contenting himself with the reading of commemorative and laudatory publications. That periodical states (Dr E. Kossala, "Informing Citizens About Elections to People's Councils in 1984," No 63, 1985) that, e.g., in the last elections to people's councils, despite everything, "pre-election meetings were attended by a significantly high proportion of citizens," and that "the dominant belief is that such meetings make citizens feel

that they have some influence on the lists of candidates," and lastly that they have been "an element democratizing the entire electoral system." This tradition and these feelings cannot be ignored.

The third issue to elicit doubts is the membership of the electoral collegiums, since it is they that ultimately decide who will be included on the electoral slate. Their membership consists three-fifths of party members and members of allied political parties and groups, and two-fifths of members of trade-union, youth, and women's organizations. It is in vain that one seeks a mention of any unaffiliated individuals, and Sejm Deputy Professor M. Kozakiewicz already has justifiably drawn attention to the existence of this major gap. The affiliated ones will prefer the affiliated ones — this is obvious, and once again, for the umpteenth time, it may turn out that this "filter" is too clogged to let through any nonparty or unaffiliated candidates. A councilman from the Praga Borough of Warsaw has even declared, when interviewed by ZYCIE WARSZAWY (7 January 1987): "Previously tenant self-government also had the right to nominate candidates, but afterward the collegiums did away with that right. Such facts are not forgotten."

It should be borne in mind that in a sizable part of Poland the political ideas and recommendations emanating from Warsaw are turned by provincial [zasciankowa] practices into pettiness, prejudices, and personal envy. In such places a critical yet loyal attitude is not deemed [by the collegiums] worthy of consideration, let alone of being honored by including the person's name on the electoral slate. And yet completely new public organizations and associations have appeared on the social scene, and they also should nominate their own candidates for elections. Will the collegiums be aware of these changes?

I believe that, despite all the complaints about the diminishing interest in public affairs, the issue of the future membership of people's councils still elicits considerable interest, because the right kind of membership may influence life in the community, whether it be a county, a city, or a borough. The announcement that the ownership of communal infrastructure is to be transferred to the hands of people's councils and that greater revenues are to flow into self-government coffers, is enhancing this interest. At the same time, it is being borne in mind that the electoral law of 1984 resulted in elections of councilmen who differed little from their predecessors in office and included, as before, a large group of collectors of numerous public offices who subsequently lacked the time and energy to exercise all their duties properly. As before, formal representation was considered important, and it was precisely the electoral collegiums that supported this practice: there was to be such and such number of members of the party and allied political parties, such and such number of workers, farmers, craftsmen, and engineers — and thereupon the electoral slate was ready. This tradition of representation is considered more important than the

personal qualities and competences of the candidates. Once again, there has been a high rate of absenteeism among councilmen, combined with the apathy of most of them, with administrative agencies showing greater competence and initiative than representative bodies.

The principal issue is to create such electoral mechanisms and procedures as would make it possible to reach the small but available group of individuals whose hearts and minds are committed to self-government work. Here what matters is not belonging to some or other organization but (especially in the smaller communities) being well-known to the community and its having a say in the nomination. Insofar as these mechanisms and procedures shall not fail, attendance at election meetings will be high, and the councilmen thus elected shall perform satisfactorily throughout their 4-year term of office.

#### Dogmatics' Fears Discounted

26000151 Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish  
No 4, 23 Jan 88 p 5

[Article by Dr Eugeniusz Ruskowski, Institute of Law, Białystok affiliate of Warsaw University: "Electoral Law Shapes Councils"]

[Text] Changes in the law governing elections to people's councils should not be considered in isolation from the reform of the overall model of these councils. This is because electoral law not only determines the manner in which candidates are identified and affects the quality of people's councils but also defines the mechanism of the responsibility of councilmen, the extent of their dependence on the society and state agencies, etc. Hence, electoral law determines as it were the "philosophy" of the future model of people's councils, which always reduces to the extent of their dependence (and of that of councilmen) on the society or on the administrative and political apparatus.

Depending on the approach taken, electoral law may result in subordinating people's councils to local communities or, too, and above all, to the administrative and political machinery. All the regulations governing elections to people's councils so far, as well as their revisions currently being discussed, demonstrate attempts to explore intermediate solutions. But this is possible only in theory, because in practice any intermediate solution results, in our conditions, in the actual subordination of the councils to the administrative and political machinery.

Studies of the operation of local government in the socialist and capitalist countries demonstrate unambiguously that this kind of subordination may preserve (or attain) particular values but has little in common with effective operation of local government and with the actual commitment of the local community to the growth of its city or county. Hence also the subordination model does not meet optimally local community needs.

If it is the intent of the legislator to assure complete effectiveness of action of people's councils and enhance the commitment of the community to local development, and also to genuinely democratize the political system, then electoral law should create a mechanism assuring the subordination of councils (councilmen) to local communities. This can be accomplished not by attaching excessive importance to secondary questions (such as single- or multiple-mandate electoral districts, notification of voters, etc.) but by providing the local community with the broadest possible opportunities for nominating candidates (as well as granting this right to particular groups of citizens) as well as with opportunities for a relatively simple and easy recall of councilmen.

In this place, conservatives and dogmatists may voice apprehensions about the eventual political shape of the councils. Such apprehensions should be demolished once and for all, on consistently constructing a system of local democracy, even despite certain transitional inconveniences. For observations of the current sociopolitical situation in this country give reason to believe that aspects of the political game may come into play in the very first act of voting in democratic local elections. This is because our society has been waiting so long for free local-government elections that it is hardly to be expected that such elections will definitely be free of emotions and illusions. It is certain, however, that subsequent democratic elections to the councils, especially at the local level, would be of a completely apolitical nature. For the specificity of local affairs and the subjection of people's council to genuine community control will cause the ultimate criterion for evaluating candidates and incumbent councilmen to be their effectiveness, ability to resolve problems, and manner of representing voters.

These comments ensue not from some futurological calculations but from longtime studies of the functioning of local governments in the socialist and capitalist countries. In the countries with democratic elections to local governments, the political elements of the electoral struggle occur solely at levels higher than the local (particularly at the regional level) and are present only rarely at the level of cities or counties (e.g., in the largest cities). At the local level in these countries, on the other hand, harmonious cooperation between rightist and leftist councilmen is the rule, and party membership has practically no effect on the manner in which councilmen exercise their mandates.

Changes in electoral law should be carried out in relation to and allowing for the ongoing reform of the model of people's councils, and should be regarded as a major element of that model.

From the formal point of view, an integral consideration of changes in the model of people's councils thus appears necessary already in the stage of discussions of the draft of a new electoral law. It would thus be easier to avoid both inconsistency in constructing the new model of the

councils and a situation in which newly elected councilmen would be unaware of the shape of that future model which they are to translate into reality while exercising their mandates.

That is why it appears imperative to prolong the duration of the period set aside for public discussion and consultations about the new electoral law. The optimal solution would be to combine elections to people's councils with the introduction of the new integral reform of these councils. This, however, would require postponing the date of these elections, which is difficult although feasible, the more so that such shifts in election dates have been carried out in the past for reasons that were less justified than the current need to properly prepare a basic and comprehensive reform of the model of people's councils.

1386

**Biala Podlaska Bishop, PZPR Official Meet**  
26000078h Warsaw *RZECZPOSPOLITA* in Polish  
5 Nov 87 p 2

[Unattributed article: "Meeting of Voivodship Authorities With the Bishop of Biala Podlaska"]

[Text] In Biala Podlaska, First Secretary of the Voivodship PZPR Committee Jozef Oleksy and Voivod Stanislaw Rapa met with Bishop Jan Mazur.

During this visit, there were positive talks about present forms of cooperation to unify the people of the voivodship.

Both parties acknowledged that it would be correct to continue regular meetings of government representatives, local self-government groups and the clergy to discuss the protection of cultural values offered by church buildings and the protection of public morality and especially to discuss the control of alcoholism and other social pathologies.

12261

**Polish-German Friendship Society Meetings Held, Reported**

**WWII Reparations Issue Discussed**  
26000066 Warsaw *TRYBUNA LUDU* in Polish  
26 Oct 87 p 7

[Article by Daniel Lulinski: "Professor Ridder Chairman of the German Federal Republic's German-Polish Friendship Society"]

[Text] Bonn. For two days, the capital of the German Federal Republic was the scene of lively discussion about the achievements in but also the revisionist barriers to full normalization of relations between that country and

Poland. On Saturday, this issue was discussed by a reports and elections meeting of members of the German-Polish Friendship Society.

At the meeting, members re-elected the outstanding expert on state and international law, Professor Dr. Helmut Ridder (born in 1919), as chairman and Pastor Horst Eisel (born in 1939) as his deputy. Another 9 members were elected into the board and these included doctors, architects, teachers and political activists from public organizations that have long worked to improve relations with Poland.

The society decided to set its journal, POLEN UND WIR, in a more attractive format and passed a series of resolutions. One of these calls on the government of West Germany and all Bundestag factions to finally make restitutions to former Polish forced laborers of the Third Reich. This restitution would be financed by the West German industrial firms that used these Polish citizens as slave laborers during the war. The meeting also called for a conference of education ministers of West Germany's allies to consider textbooks prepared by scholars from both countries in 1976.

After the meeting, Professor Helmut Ridder spoke with our TRYBUNA LUDU correspondent and said that the two days of discussion confirmed that under the changing European situation, the society's activities will remain focused on the full normalization of German-Polish relations according to the 1970 treaty. The society also wants to cooperate with similar regional German-Polish friendship societies in several cities of the German Federal Republic.

**Youth Symposium on Revisionism, History**  
26000066 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish  
24-25 Oct 87 p 8

[Article by Daniel Lulinski: "Young Citizens of the German Federal Republic and Poland Face History"]

[Text] Bonn. The symposium, "The postwar generation and its attitude toward history" jointly organized by the German-Polish Friendship Society, the Gustav Stresemann Institute and the Western Institute of Poznan was held here on Friday. Reports read by Dr. Elke Hennig of Kassel and Dr. Henryk Olszewski of Poznan pointed out the positive changes that have taken place in the attitudes that youth of both countries have toward the normalization of relations. However, they also pointed out the harm done by certain West German revisionist historians who have played down or whitewashed the Third Reich and therefore helped to confuse and disorient young citizens of the Federal German Republic.

The nearly 100 participants took part in four working groups where they looked at the introduction to educational programs of textbook recommendations prepared by scholars from both West Germany and Poland (in this area, there continue to be difficulties with the Federal

Republic), contacts and cooperation between the youth of both countries, the situation of victims of the Nazi system of slave labor who have been refused any restitution and the attitudes of the Catholic Church in both countries.

The chairman of the West German German-Polish Friendship Society, the outstanding expert on international law, Dr. Helmut Ridder, said that the process of normalizing German-Polish relations has, because of revisionist attitudes in Bonn, stagnated in certain political and legal areas despite the fact that overall relations have greatly improved and the societies of both countries have been made much closer by the 1970 treaty.

A teacher from the Bismarck Liceum in Hannover, Lothar Tettelmann, whose students have been in partly contact with students at a secondary school in Poznan, pointed out the alarming fact that grammar school pupils from the 11th-13th grades in Lower Saxony do not have to study the history of the Third Reich since 1984. Additionally, many other "problem" areas like German attitudes toward Poland are not covered in teaching programs.

The symposium stressed that the present "historical debates" in West Germany are not concerned with "yesterday's issues" but the realization that certain conclusions must be drawn from the past to ensure a peaceful future.

It was decided that similar "German-Polish talks" would be held each year in West Germany and Poland.

12261

**Polish, American Mechanical Engineers Meet**  
26000078e Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish  
10 Nov 87 p 2

[Article by (W.P.): "Cooperation Between Polish and American Engineers"]

[Text] A delegation from the American Society of Mechanical Engineers under its president, Richard Rosenberg, and its director general, David L. Bedlen, visited Poland on 9 November to sign an agreement between the ASME and the Association of Polish Engineers and Mechanical Engineers [SIMP]. This agreement will cover the exchange of scientific and technical information, jobs, technical journals and delegations to scientific and technical conferences. The agreement also has provision concerning the rights of ASME and SIMP members in the United States and Poland.

12261

**Soviet Writer's Union Official Visits**

26000078c Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish  
3 Nov 87 p 8

[Unattributed article: "Meeting at the Capitol Palace of Literature"]

[Text] Visiting Poland at the invitation of the Union of Actors and Theatrical Performers, the chairman of the All-Union Copyright Agency, Nikolay Chetverikov, met at the Warsaw Palace of Literature with the presidium of the Executive Board of the Polish Writer's Union. Board Chairman Wojciech Zukrowski stressed the importance of translations to the growth and enrichment of cultural life. "Better exchange in information," he said, "would certainly be promoted by regular meetings of writers, critics, translators and publishers from both Poland and the USSR." The Soviet guest showed interest in new books on social and political issues and books about youth.

12261

**Yugoslav Chief of Staff Concludes Visit**

26000083f Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish  
7 Nov 87 p 2

[Unattributed article: "Yugoslav Chief of Staff Concludes Visit"]

[Text] On 5 November, Colonel General Stevan Mirkovic, the chief of staff of the Yugoslav Armed Forces concluded a visit to Poland for which he was invited by General of Arms Jozef Uzycki, vice-minister of defense and chief of staff of the Polish Army.

General Mirkovic also met with General of the Army Florian Siwicki, Politburo member and national defense minister.

12261

**USSR Censor Official Visits Polish Counterpart**

26000078b Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish  
19-20 Sep 87 p 2

[Article by Stanislaw Kosicki: "Problems in Press Publication"]

[Text] Poland has been visited by a delegation from the USSR Council of Ministers Chief Directorate for Protecting State Secrets in Publications under its director, Vladimir A. Boldyrev.

Discussions about problems in press publication were held in the Chief Bureau for Control of Publications and Public Performances, the board of the "Prasa-Ksiazka-Ruch" Worker's Cooperative Publishing House and in the Katowice District Bureau for Control of Publications and Public Performances.

The delegation was met by Sylwester Zawadzki, a member of the Council of State. During its visit to Katowice, the delegation was received by Deputy Politburo member and First Secretary of the Katowice Voivodship PZPR Committee Bogumil Ferensztajn.

On 18 September, the delegation met with the Politburo and Central Committee Secretary Jan Glowczyk.

The chairman of the Chief Bureau for Control of Publications and Public Performances, Stanislaw Kosicki, was also present at these meetings and discussions.

12261

**Soviet Literary Journal Editors Visit**

26000078a Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish  
7 Oct 87 p 2

[Article by (bacz): "Meeting With Soviet Writers"]

[Text] (Own information) On Tuesday, the Warsaw Palace of Culture and Science was visited by writers and chief editors of the monthly literary journals VOLGA (Sergey Borovikov), DON (Vasily Voronov) and TALLIN (Oluf Ut) and a lecturer from the Moscow Institute of Literature imeni M. Gorky, Vladimir Gusev. The subject of their discussions was the situation in Soviet literature under glasnost. They also talked about the explosion of public-affairs writing in which not only journalists but also literary writers are now involved.

Before coming to Warsaw, the Soviet writers took part in a symposium in the Bialowieza Forest which was dedicated to factual literature. The symposium was organized by the journal KONTRASTY in Bialystok.

12261

**Gorywoda Discusses Katowice Administrative Tasks, Party Status**

26000143 Katowice TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 31 Dec 87-3 Jan 88 pp 1,3

[Interview with Manfred Gorywoda, Politburo candidate member and Katowice First Party Secretary, by Stanislaw Wojtek: "Think Anew, Retain Beautiful Traditions"]

[Text] [Question] Nearly 2 months have passed since you had become First Secretary of the Katowice Voivodship PZPR Committee. You have thus had the opportunity to familiarize yourself still more closely with many problems in your region. Based on your experiences in the national government, how do you view the situation in the voivodship?

[Answer] The problems of Katowice Voivodship were not alien to me in the past either, especially the economic problems. I have long been familiar with them. I had worked on some of these problems together with the

voivodship authorities while drafting longrange development plans for our country. I refer here chiefly to the principal fields of our economy, which also happen to be the principal industries in our voivodship, namely, mining, steelmaking, and heavy industry. So I was not unprepared. However, there do exist some problems which I now perceive more clearly. They concern chiefly the communal infrastructure, where the scale of problems and needs is greater than what I had previously thought. I also perceive more clearly the differences existing in this respect in particular cities and city-gminas.

[Question] The future of Katowice Voivodship will largely depend on its economic growth. What will be the directions of that growth?

[Answer] As far as the prospects for economic growth are concerned, I wish chiefly to stress the necessity of reconstructing a major part of our industry and preparing for an extensive restructuring. This is dictated by various considerations, including chiefly the concern for improving the living conditions of the population of our region. As known, in many parts of our voivodship the mining industry will have to reduce extraction owing to the depletion of deposits. A restructuring of industry and the provision of new jobs will logically be needed. Modern processing industries will have to be developed. This is first. Second, it is necessary to accelerate even now the restructuring of the existing, chiefly heavy, industry. We must assure its more rational operation and reduce its harm to natural environment.

For example, the steel industry, especially in the central area of our voivodship, is an obsolete industry. A large part of its raw-materials base should be rapidly eliminated and the thus freed facilities will be, in accordance with earlier plans, adapted to processing needs. Similar action should be taken with respect to the byproduct coke industry. This industry, too, is located in the very center of many cities and adversely affects living conditions. Hence it appears to me that it is precisely in these two domains that we should attempt to attain the most rapid and maximum progress in the next few years. As regards the steel industry, we already have an appropriate program of action.

Our next objective is to stimulate the growth of small industry in its various forms, primarily, of course, with the object of meeting consumer needs more adequately. Many of our cities suffer from the absence of various services and goods. Hence we believe that, on the basis of, among other things, an improved utilization of our local resources, the production of consumer goods and services can and should be developed.

I consider it particularly urgent and important to streamline the renovation of old housing stock and construction of new housing. As known, obsolete housing stock prevails in many cities and, unless modernization and renovation operations are accelerated, we face the total

loss of many buildings and dwellings which even now can still be salvaged. Of course, certain dilapidated and obsolete structures will have to be demolished in a planned manner, but a majority can and should be preserved purposefully. Here I refer to a complete modernization and renovation rather than to the patching of any proverbial holes.

[Question] You are the first secretary of the nation's largest voivodship party organization. Recently you were elected candidate member of the Politburo of the Central Committee. As ensues from this interview so far, you have become familiar with many of the voivodship's problems, including also problems handled by party echelons and organizations. From the vantage point of your present office, how would you characterize party life in the voivodship?

[Answer] We are indeed the nation's largest party organization, with a membership of more than a quarter-million. This represents a huge human potential for commitment. So far as my election to candidate membership in the Politburo is concerned, I wish to emphasize that I consider it a great honor and an obligation. Above all, however, I regard this as emphasizing the role of the voivodship party organization in political life and the importance of our voivodship in the nation's socio-economic life. As a member of the basic party organization at the Tychy Car Plant and as a delegate of the voivodship party organization to the 10th Party Congress, I have become quite familiar with the party's strength. What impressed me especially? The unusually broad party aktiv, its unusual strength of commitment.

This is a highly optimistic part of my appraisal, and one that I want to stress. I think that it also is a premise for a more dynamic activity of the voivodship party organization and for its stronger role.

There also exist, of course, problems which will have to be solved. The quality of our party work varies rather greatly at the local level, especially. At present I consider it a fundamental issue to strengthen the basic party cells. This is needed not only by our voivodship organization but by the entire party, especially in the context of the great and important tasks we are to undertake during the second stage of the economic reform. To attain the objectives, we simply must have a strong party with a greater and more merit-based influence at the community level. Otherwise, it would be difficult to speak of the party's guiding role. And that role will depend chiefly on the strength, activism, and preparedness of the basic party organizations. This problem was posed very acutely during the deliberations of the Fourth and Sixth plenums of the Central Committee. We too shall pay unremitting attention to it.

[Question] The living and working conditions of the population of our region have long been known to you, as you have just emphasized. Now that you are able to

obtain a closer view of these conditions, would you say that the measures taken to improve them are indeed appropriate ones, or do you perceive some other solutions perhaps?

[Answer] The living conditions of an overwhelming majority of the region's population are highly vexatious. Outsiders do not always realize this. This is not obscured by any myths. Thus an extremely consistent implementation of projects adopted to improve living conditions is necessary. This concerns chiefly improving the natural environment. Second, expanding housing construction and preserving old housing stock. Third, a consistent implementation of major transportation projects that are virtually of strategic importance. Once these projects are completed, traveling conditions should fundamentally improve. This also should promote the integration of the cities of the Upper Silesian agglomeration. We the Executive Board of the PZPR Voivodship Committee recently turned to the voivodship's inhabitants and to public organizations at enterprises with a request for assistance in implementing these projects.

We all shall benefit from the advantages to be yielded by the measures I mentioned above. That is why they should be our shared goals. In our voivodship there exists a good tradition of a collective undertaking of great projects. I count on the continuation of this tradition.

I believe that we will have to do more to expand the material base of our culture. In this respect we face arrears that complicate the growth and propagation of culture. Programs for the development of science, education, higher education, and public health shall be continued.

But the quality of life is decided not only by big but also by seemingly little but highly important things, such as cleanliness, neatness, or a good organization, and the related situation at times leaves something to be desired, but can be changed to the better without any major financial outlays, without any grandiose programs of action, simply through greater interest in these matters and an improved performance of one's personal obligations. We should tackle in a more energetic manner minor vexations that often are largely up to ourselves to resolve, the more so considering that our region used to be well-known for neatness and cleanliness. We cannot afford forfeiting good traditions.

[Question] We have already touched on many important problems. I think that the readers of TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA would appreciate it and feel gratified if you would say something more about yourself, your family, and your hobbies.

[Answer] As is known, I come from this region of the country. It was here that I grew up and spent my youth. I have links with Warsaw through my studies and professional work, but while in Warsaw I had regularly visited this region, which naturally remained close to me.

As far as my hobbies are concerned, I must admit that I am greatly interested in sports. I used to play soccer, so I also am a soccer fan. To this day I try to practice sports or at least to exercise, which I consider unusually important for keeping in shape.

I like to read books, though now, owing to lack of time, I read less than I used to. I am particularly interested in books on World War II history.

[Question] The year 1987 is ending. How would you characterize it briefly? What kind of year was it to the society, to the party, and to you, and what do you expect of the coming year 1988?

[Answer] Above all, it was a year of implementing the resolutions of the 10th Congress, resolutions of epochal significance because they provide the impetus for an accelerated reforming of our life. Considerable effort was exerted to make society understand the difficult problems of the economy and gain its understanding of the proposed ways of solving them.

It also seems to me that marked progress has been achieved in [reforming] the manner of the exercise of power, in gaining society's involvement in the solution of the complex problems facing us. Of course, as can be easily surmised, here I am referring to all the questions relating to the preparation and conduct of the referendum and to its results. In the course of this drive it became possible to awaken widespread interest of the society in questions which concern us all. To me this is an optimistic symptom. For it is known that many problems cannot be solved in the absence of involvement by the society. Without that involvement, we would fail in accelerating the changes in our awareness and releasing such currently desirable factors as resourcefulness, initiative, and thrift. Thanks to the implementation of the program of the 10th PZPR Congress we have taken major steps forward in many domains. That is why I consider the year now passing to be altogether successful despite the various problems.

What will the year 1988 be like? It will be a year of an intensified implementation of the measures envisaged in the program for the second stage of the economic reform, and of learning how to exploit the new opportunities this will offer for the display of initiative. I think that in our voivodship this process will occur rapidly. My belief is based on the high level of our labor force. I am elated by my talks at and visits to many labor establishments, where I have perceived a new philosophy of thinking, a new approach to solving questions of the growth of enterprises and cities.

This inspires optimism, provides encouragement, and gives reason to believe that the year 1988 should be a year of further progress, of a successful solution of the question of the socioeconomic growth of the voivodship and the country as a whole. By focusing on the implementation of the programs we had outlined for Katowice

Voivodship as a whole over the entire 5-year period, we shall of a certainty make a major stride forward in improving living conditions in our industrialized region.

[Question] Comrade Secretary, at the threshold of the new year would you like to say something to the inhabitants of Silesia and the Coal Basin?

[Answer] As the custom is, I wish to convey to all readers of TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA, and through your newspaper also to all inhabitants of the voivodship, my best wishes for a healthy, happy, and prosperous new year 1988.

In view of our experience, incessant work enthusiasm, and a simply historic ability to face even the harshest vicissitudes of fate, we shall of a certainty succeed in achieving our goals, for our own good and for the good of future generations in our region and throughout Poland. Let us jointly approach these matters with a creative optimism as always.

Let us also wish each other greater mutual goodwill, understanding, endurance, and tenacity in removing obstacles.

I feel deeply convinced that, following the historic disarmament agreement recently signed in Washington by the leaders of the USSR and the United States, the year 1988 will signal a new era of peace in which we shall be able to solve our difficult problems peacefully. May it be so, maximally.

1386

### Socialism Still Potent, 'Praxiological' Mistakes Blamed

26000146 Warsaw ZYCIE PART II in Polish  
No 1, 13 Jan 88 p 3

[Excerpts from article by Stanislaw Kwiatkowski: "Do We Have a Scenario for the Development of Socialism?"]

[Excerpts] The classics [of "Marxism-Leninism"] expected the rise of a new society to be a long-term process, given that the future system of society would have to be built on the realities of the old one, and also given the human element, allowing for human mentality, interests, and needs. After Lenin's death, however, a kind of "revolutionary fever" had commenced. In the development of theory an orientation interpreting Marxism as total social engineering took precedence.

The attitude of the PZPR toward the mistakes has been changing. There had been a period of time, later termed the period of mistakes and distortions, when the party was identified with the fountainhead of wisdom and thought infallible. Later, explanations were advanced, complaints made, and promises of "never again" given. Well, F. Engels spoke of the growth of science from one

mistake to another. Lenin's thoughts on the subject are known. Quite recently Ye. Yevtushenko wrote, "Only the dead don't make mistakes." In a word, not all mistakes and not always should be thought embarrassing. Not only because those who make no mistakes do not accomplish anything; a person like that "does not think at all... and therefore he does not happen to think mistakenly" (Antoine Saint-Exupery), but also because the method of trial and error, though the most costly, is often the sole way of creating the new. The attitude toward mistakes is important: Are proper conclusions inferred from them, or are the same mistakes repeated?

Now, a few of years later I wish to discuss again what I had termed the mistake of the praxiological approach (ZYCIE PART II, 1 August 1984 issue). I believe that even now, while thinking of the new, we are repeating old mistakes. It is readily seen that people who had listened to lectures about the future shape of socialism and believed in the visions proclaimed have now become disoriented and hardly know what to think of what is happening in Poland and in the neighboring countries. In extreme instances, some such individuals lose their faith in ideals and doubt in the strength of the movement with which they identify themselves, while others, who retain faith in their rationales, are mistrustful and aloof from institutional changes and reforms. From various directions the question is repeated, "What ultimately is socialism?"

This and similar questions are also being asked of party members by secretaries of party organizations, and they are repeated from the highest tribunes, e.g., during the Fourth Plenary Session of the PZPR Central Committee. The situation is becoming abnormal, because after all we are living in a socialist country, meaning that real accomplishments and the experience of many years are tangible, along with the substructure of theory. Is not it paradoxical that nowadays, after so many years of socialism building, the doubts are rather more numerous than at the beginning? Why is that so?

I believe that the entire ideological activity so far must be subjected to an objective criticism, and especially what has usually been referred to, within the framework of this activity, as the future shape of socialism. For people have been habituated to think that socialism is the future, that it is a model solution, a vision of a desirable situation that can be described by means of ideals, values, and paradigms.

The description of such excellence was the heart of the ideological matter; it showed what things ought to be like and how good and better life would be compared with the past, with the previous systems of society. It is precisely this way of viewing the future that has become perpetuated, a picture of a desirable society, a rigid ideological vision and an equally rigid scenario for attaining complex goals that are always lofty and "just," regardless of their relationship to the actual reality. To be

sure, such thinking was based on revolutionary premises, especially on Marxist axiology, but essentially it has been utopian, typical of the religious visions of ideal societies.

By contrast with utopian socialists, who attempted to translate into reality their visions of the ideal society, the classics of scientific socialism analyzed critically the coeval reality, i.e., capitalist social relations and the structural contradictions of the capitalist society.

How then did it happen that socialism was being built in accordance with predetermined model solutions?

Thinking of the future within our movement always was and is based on axiological premises. Thus, the goal for whose sake the reality was to be changed and the current situation eliminated was known. The adoption of the principle that man is the highest value, and so is providing him with the conditions for broad personal growth, was regarded as the axiological foundation for thinking of the past, and as one making possible the appraisal of references in analyses and diagnoses of the present (the criterion of "what is" and "how it ought to be").

The planning of social transformations had at first seemed simple. The development scenario was, as it were, clear, and the postrevolutionary point of departure was known. The aims, the destination, the condition aspired toward, hinged on the implementation of the theoretically necessary changes in the base and the superstructure on behalf of humanist rationality. The starting premises in the thinking of the future were derived from a corpus of general humanist ideas, "desirable values," as related to contemporary possibilities. Thus, "how it ought to be" was known.

Once the Marxist philosophy of man (the movement of history as a realization of human nature), Marxist anthropology, began to be used as the basis for not only axiology but also for inferring goals for the future, developing the vision of the future ideal society and formulating it in the form of development goals and a list of appropriate directives for political practice, such distinctive interpretation of the majesty of Marxism resulted in turning model assumptions, paradigms, and principles into a theoretical foundation. Ideological visionariness took precedence over facts and reality.

The classics had expected the rise of a new society to be a long-term process, given that the future system of society would have to be built on the realities of the old one, and also given the human element, allowing for human mentality, interests, and needs. But Lenin's death was followed by the commencement of a "revolutionary fever."

In the development of theory, an orientation interpreting Marxism as total social engineering took precedence. In practice this meant an extremely technical, economic-effectiveness approach to social issues. Socialism was

conceived as a completely new mansion whose foundations have yet to be laid as soon as possible, regardless of cost, so that, once it is completed, people would begin a new life in it.

We have extensive literature on this subject. It describes the future shape of the society and the superiority of socialist excellence over the present material well being of developed capitalism. Present day shortcomings do not matter that much, considering that the future will be glorious. The present, with its diversity of forms of social life, contradictions of interests, and gray quotidian nature of life, is simply not accommodated within this perception.

As regards social issues, especially political activity, such abstract socialism-building with its bestowal of socialism as a gift from above, as it were, along with the treatment of human beings as mere executors implementing abstract goals, has resulted in a naive technocracy, arbitrarism, and manipulations of the entire society from the top.

The richness of the life of the society was not accommodated within the narrow framework imposed by doctrinaires: private agriculture, private crafts, religiosity, and similar "relics" began to be considered impediments. Such soil nurtured the cult of power, bureaucratism, undemocratic distortions, and the domination of its party by its tight leadership group.

It is precisely the prioritizing of goals ahead of people, in isolation from the existing situation, in divorce from the reality, that was a strongly and painfully felt mistake. Essentially this mistake consisted in failing to realize that the available means were inadequate for accomplishing idealistically treated goals. The aims, while generally lofty, were of a purely intentional nature and could not produce the expected results. The net result was lofty program visions, documents, collections of beautiful pipe dreams—and vacuous moralizing in propaganda.

Hence also the arbitrarism, the declarations praising various social accomplishments despite the lack of an adequate material substructure (free and universal education, free medical care, housing for everyone, etc.). Hence also the "bending" of reality to make it fit assumptions of theory and visions.

In essence, we are dealing here with a fallacy in the praxiological approach to social problems. The matter is treated as a technical problem that can be solved by using appropriate means, methods, and principles in order to accomplish objectives imposed from the top, on employing procedures that work very well for accomplishing technological tasks by pursuing a properly scheduled objective upon expending a precisely calculated quantity of effort and resources. In order to alter

human behavior, habits, manner of thinking, and preferences, it is necessary to alter the conditions in which people live, upon correspondingly programming the operating principles of the societal mechanism.

Man is changed most readily through sagacious action. Actual practice in stimulating people intellectually and making them feel emotionally committed is what teaches and shapes them best. This concerns awareness of the purpose of action as well as corresponding motivations for satisfying needs. Action is to awaken imagination (rather than everything in isolation: separate instruction, separate action, separate discussion of what ought to be, and separate discussion of what should be done).

The goal here is to become aware of the methods needed. The selection of the means does matter, because the end is not something above or beside the means. The organization of such action performs simultaneously praxiological and ideological functions, while theory (ideology) is the organizing principle, provides the premises for efficient action, and at the same time teaches and brings up. A thus interpreted methodology is at the same time ideology (there is as much methodology in it as ideology, and vice versa).

The need is for precisely such solutions, for programs thus formulated that contain built-in, inherent means for accomplishing the end en route toward the end as it were. This concerns mechanisms for translating into reality the social and economic potential of socialism. And I believe that nowadays the problem of these mechanisms should be a priority task of party teaching.

1386

#### **Wroclaw Governor on Investment, Health Sector Issues**

26000087a Bydgoszcz GAZETA POMORSKA in Polish  
3-4 Oct 87 p 3

[Interview with Tadeusz Gembicki, Wloclawek Voivodship governor, by Marek Trzebiatowski: "The Hard Art of Making Choices"]

[Text] [Question] The decision to locate a nuclear power plant in Kiempicza in Pila Voivodship has given rise to hopes that more investments will be made in Wloclawek. Meanwhile, these additional expenditures associated with the nuclear power plant were supposed to bring the inhabitants of the Kujawy region and Dobrzyn many benefits in the form of increased medical, cultural and educational facilities and more housing.

[Answer] I will not hide the fact that we had great hopes of gaining these investments. We were given an unfavorable decision because we were not supported by the government in Plock Voivodship. The power plant is supposed to be located on the border of our two voivodships but we alone were interested in its construction

because Plock did not even want to take part in preliminary discussions. In making the final decision, we considered the results of many studies and therefore chose the best variant, the Pila plan in which the city of Poznan will also take an interest in the construction of the power plant.

[Question] Perhaps the problem would not seem so drastic were it not for the fact that Wloclawek has for the last 5 years ranked last in the nation for the investments it has received. The allotted 10.6 billion zlotys from the national budget is indeed little.

[Answer] According to current prices, that is 10,300,000,000 zlotys because the amount quoted is based on 1984 prices. In no way does that change the fact that we have too little money in relation to the region's long-term growth needs.

[Question] Apparently the fact that we are talking about investment strategies and not tactics has placed a great burden on the voivodship's administration. After all, our low ranking in Poland is no coincidence.

[Answer] It has been caused by a series of factors. The most important of these is the fact that at the end of the 1970s and the start of the 1980s, no significant investments funded by the central budget have been made in our voivodship. There was, therefore, no motivation for greater investment. In my opinion, we could at that time have made better use of our opportunities to get a financial "shot in the arm."

[Question] Is it, therefore, true that some of these unused funds have been returned to the central budget?

[Answer] Only 76 percent of the 1981 budget was used and just 468 out of 613 million zlotys were spent on investments. In 1982, it was even worse because we spent only 68 percent of our available capital resources or just 1.15 billion out of 1.7 billion zlotys. It is not strange that the voivodship later received 100 million zlotys less because the budget is so planned that all allotted funds are to be used. We made a breakthrough only in 1984. However, on the other hand, those who say that we are ranked last in investments are contradicted by the Council of Ministers Planning Commission which argues that we are ranked 34th in Poland in the amount of per capita investment. The average per capita investment is 24,900 zlotys. Nowy Sacz Voivodship which ranks 49th receives 17,800 zlotys per capita. Czestochowa is ranked 48th and Opole ranks 47th. Bydgoszcz, for example, ranks 43rd and receives a per capita investment of 20,300 zlotys while Torun Voivodship receives 27,600 zlotys per capita.

[Question] For now, let us drop the theoretical considerations because in spite of the small percentage of funds that Bydgoszcz receives, one can say that the voivodship

is seeing a boom in investments. New housing settlements and hospitals are being built. People in Włocławek are really asking questions about that.

[Answer] We are not dropping the premises for the 5-year plan. The most important matter is the voivodship hospital which is already under construction. A nurse's hostel is being built. Next year, we intend to build a power plant and other technical facilities. Every year, much money is allotted to the hospital, even at the cost of other areas of life.

[Question] That sounds optimistic but investment costs have exceeded the ability of the voivodship to pay for them. There are also problems in finding enterprises that will do the work.

[Answer] There is no doubt that without the support of the central authorities and especially the Planning Commission and Ministry of Health and Social Welfare, we cannot manage this. However, I think that our efforts and the public's commitment finds its expression in budget funds. Getting the work done is also a difficult problem. We made preliminary arrangements to build the voivodship hospital with the previous director of the Bydgoszcz Budopol Enterprise. The situation has now become complicated because the firm from Bydgoszcz is having financial difficulties and has been placed under commission management. However, it seems to me that the work in Włocławek could be, in Budopol's situation, a chance to get out of the oppression. These are well-paid assembly jobs and we are taking on the responsibility of creating the proper working conditions and a series of specialized work. In sum, this would be cooperation profitable to both sides.

[Question] Is there another possibility of finding someone else to do the work?

[Answer] No.

[Question] The issue of the hospital is quite clear. Meanwhile, it is harder to say anything concrete about the Lesna Polana housing settlement and the prospects for increasing housing construction in Włocławek.

[Answer] They will have to have three billion zlotys in the bank to even break the ground for this project and we do not have it. We are looking for alternate solutions such as ground-level construction, putting more housing within existing settlements or developing old neighborhoods such as Kokoszka. However, with all of these solutions, the gain in housing is only slight.

[Question] Another problem is that the urbanistic concept of the new settlements has been distorted.

[Answer] These were built for long-term needs. However, it is true that adding new housing to a completed investment process is troublesome for the residents. We, therefore, assume that the lack of construction resources

will be centrally resolved. After all, this has been the case with most of our country's agglomerates like Lipno, Aleksandrow Kujawski and Ciechocinek. This is also connected with the need for comprehensive economic cost-accounting. We can no longer have a situation in which communal management must bear the cost of bringing in all communal equipment and start building houses from scratch. An investor should be equally responsible for these expenses and if that were so, there would perhaps be fewer problems with the entire communal infrastructure. Therefore, the entire problem of building power plants and wastewater treatment facilities in Lipno, Rypino and Izbica Kujawska rests on our backs alone.

[Question] How much has the attitude of the local people's councils changed? Are they in a more realistic frame of mind?

[Answer] Yes. There are many examples of commitment and local initiatives that show it is possible to make the most of meager resources. The proof of this may be the results of the National School Aid Act or of public actions.

[Question] What can we expect from the review of the structures of state government?

[Answer] We are presently working on a concept for a statute, considering the best solutions and trying to decide whether we have too many managers, directors and vice-directors. However, everyday we must deal with a lack of managers in the field. Since November of last year, there have been 11 different changes. That is also an essential problem both for us and for the local public.

[Question] Thank you for the conversation.

12261

**Citizens Consultative Caucus Meets in Katowice**  
26000083c Katowice TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA in  
Polish 2 Oct 87 p 1

[Unattributed article: "Inaugural Meeting of the Citizens Consultative Caucus"]

[Text] The Citizens Consultative Caucus of the Katowice Voivodship People's Council held its inaugural meeting on 30 September.

During the meeting, caucus members discussed organizational issues associated with forms and methods of work, topics for coming meetings and the frequency of future meetings. They also discussed ways in which to acquaint the public with the substance of the problems considered by the caucus.

This inaugural meeting was chaired by Chairman of the Voivodship People's Council Adam Szczurowski and was attended by Rudolf Buchala, Mieczyslaw Chorazy, Lucjan Gajda, Marian Gerlich, Edward Halek, Andrzej Jaskulski, Jacek Kilian, Adam Kopanski, Aleksandr Kowal, Adam Niederlinski, Ireneusz Opacki, Stanislaw Rogowski, Jaroslaw Sienkiewicz, Elzbieta Stolorz-Krzisz and Piotr Lukasz Wyrzykowski.

12261

**'Freedom and Peace' Movement Activities Followed, Reported**  
26000081c Zielona Gora GAZETA LUBUSKA in Polish  
3-4 Oct 87 p 3

[Article by Jerzy Zysnarski: "VIPs in WiP"]

[Text] For a year now I have tried to follow the activity and any signs of activity of the "Peace and Freedom" movement [WiP], everything that its members say, do and write and what others think of them. However, the more I know, the harder it is to define this phenomenon which is popularly known as pacifism but a form a pacifism with less and less in common with the good of us all.

Especially now, having read reports from Bydgoszcz where the demonstrations of these so-called pacifists were accompanied by anarchist slogans and seen how the so-called victims of the regime rubbed shoulders with the most common sort of boors, the only thing that comes to mind is a comparison of that movement with "Grunwald." In both cases, very lofty ideals rallied not only people of like mind but also ordinary troublemakers. Do you remember how much was said about "Grunwald" years ago? While some choked on patriotism, others became embittered, they remembered...background [pochodzenie] and deeds, not their own, but those of others. Where some wanted to rub out the "blank spots," others laid out new enclaves of taboo and the challenge has been taken up by an entire conglomeration of anti-semites, Zionists, etc., etc.

I do not intend to write about "Grunwald" here but rather the "Peace and Freedom" movement. Whom do we see in its ranks? Opponents of war and any other form of violence. Where some are offended only by the military oath a soldier must take, others feel an aversion to armed forces in general. The refusal of some to bear arms may look to others like hostility to the regime. If some were drawn to WiP by their love of nature, others were drawn by their love of the hero of World War II, the Wehrmacht grenadier Otton Schimek. Since the entire movement is superficially a "pacifist" movement, what is to stop various anarchists, troublemakers and politicos from joining it? The only requirement is that they do not want war and do not like the military, force and responsibility.

### Who Does Like These Things?

It is therefore hard to define this movement and its history. Like the saying about whether the chicken or egg came first, one can in this case ask what came first, the refusal to take the military oath or organized action? Dates and examples can be juggled but no one can convince me that it is a complete coincident that youth from different corners of Poland would all at the same time declare themselves conscientious objectors and refuse to take an oath that includes "loyalty to the government" and "being on constant guard over peace in fraternal alliance with the Soviet Army and the other fraternal armies." They claim that their refusal has nothing to do with political beliefs but is a matter of humanism. Others say they have nothing against the army and would gladly serve if they did not have to take an oath. And when some of these young people are not sent to prison but allowed to provide alternative military service, there is another hullabaloo that this runs rough-shod over human rights and personal liberty.

For a long time, I have watched the actions of many fellows who follow WiP. In Gorzow, I talked with several members, heard their speeches and read their pamphlets (the ones I could get because they are all published on the underground press) in order to understand their principles and motivations. However, I still cannot find convincing proof that these young people raised in a country in which defense of the fatherland has always been a sacred duty, in families in which these values were never contradicted and in a religion that has no doctrinal objections to military service would, once they reach the age of 18, suddenly adopt this strange form of pacifism. They refuse to serve not because they object to the army, weapons or war but because they do not like the oath.

As is usually the case with a movement which outwardly declares itself apolitical, humanitarian and social slogans are used and WiP has quickly become involved in contradictory activities such as pilgrimages to Schimek's grave on the one hand and stammering letters to peace movements in the West and sent in the name of the inhabitants of Eastern Europe. They act as if they object to the military oath but at the same time insultingly equate the Polish Army and the Wehrmacht because in both armies, the "highest virtue is following orders." They fight for peace declaring that "a man who follows every order is a greater threat to peace than the neutron bomb" whereas as a policeman's club can be just as deadly as a Pershing missile. WiP acts as if it were all just an issue of Poland and Poles but at the same time, they send petitions on problems in places like Czechoslovakia. They say that we have to protect Poland against nuclear energy but remain silent about nuclear weapons. They seemingly fight to protect nature but at the same time say that we have no one against whom we have to defend Poland.

The scenes from Bydgoszcz have supplemented this mosaic with new elements or rather manifested them because after all, one could foresee that wherever the

slogans of personal freedom, abstract freedom and all freedoms in general are touted, the anarchists will sooner or later appear. Aside from postulates for the total destruction of all state institutions, they cannot offer society anything positive. This has made them look a little comic and harmless but the same people once played a highly ambiguous and often tragic role in revolutionary Russia and the Spanish Civil War. Apropos, an anarchist feels an aversion to barracks but never to the weapons that can be the best guarantee of personal freedom.

Such a conglomerate of conflicting ideals, goals, interests and methods would have long ago destroyed any other organization from within but these contradictions seem to be a principle with WiP. Everything indicates that someone is trying to bring together the rebellious, outraged, the frustrated and the failures to exploit various opportunities. The goal is more important than the motives. It is clever to appeal to individual motivations in order to agitate and then to avoid answering specific questions. Let us imagine a dialogue between a veteran and a young man: "A strapping young fellow and you're afraid of the army," the old man might say while the young man replies "But Grand-daddy, all I want is clean air."

Have you readers noticed that for months, the WiP in Gorzow has not at all brought up the issue of military service, the oath and the cases of persons arrested for refusal to serve? This already happened in Gorzow and it somehow did not catch on. In Bydgoszcz, on the other hand, the issue of environmental protection was not brought up. Who there would have cared anything about the issue of the location of "nuclear garbage cans?" That is why we are seeing a hunger strike in the city on the Brda to inflame public emotions and very little interest from the public. Meanwhile, at Miedzyrzecz, WiP has undertaken a public scare campaign with somewhat better results. What we are seeing in Bydgoszcz, Gorzow and Miedzyrzecz may repeat itself in another part of Poland.

This brings us back to our original question: Who has inspired and organized all of this? There is no clear answer but under all of WiP's outward appearances, one can discern unambiguous traces and I suggest that my readers check that for themselves. It is true that WiP has officially cut all ties with Solidarity. I had my own good reasons for putting the term of VIP (English for "very important person") next to WiP in the title of this article. WiP has its own activists and methods. "We are for certain the creators of a small policy," boasted one of the heroes of the Bydgoszcz incident for the television cameras, "and the creators of new methods of action in this country." In one of its earlier bulletins, WiP stated unequivocally that "we fill a gap in the Polish opposition."

#### What Is This New Generation of Activists?

There is no shortage of university and secondary school students in WiP but the decision for action is made by a

specific type of person: Boys from broken families without vocational training or even a trade, those who have never been able to make much of themselves (even in the army!) and those who feel they have little to lose and much to gain. I have seen such people in Gorzow. Such people do everything in the belief that it is proper and fitting but they themselves think up nothing, write no pamphlets, provide no arguments and reach no conclusions. Who does it for them?

On the other hand, they are impressed because docents and professors invite them to ecological symposia and honor them in sacristy and that foreign journalists are interested in them. They are so important that the SB [Security Service] keeps an eye on them and that the government is concerned about them. Sometimes that alone is enough to satisfy the natural need to feel important.

However, someone is making skillful use of this need. One can say that WiP is surrounded with Rulewski's and Jaworski's because they miss their popularity and influence. Or is it all mere coincidence? Anyway, the so-called Fund Council for WiP is headed by none other than Jozef Lipski (as the poet said, "O village rumors! You Tabernacle between the old years and the new"). How did a fund even end up in the hands of an organization that claims to be small and unsupported by the public, which has no secret cells in workplaces and no economic influence? But WiP has money for how else would it pay for pamphlets and brochures, how else would it support those of its activists who claim they cannot find jobs "because of persecution" and how else can it pay for their travels? Where would a young unemployed person get dollars?

Here is another question: Who wants to see Poland weakened militarily and economically? Who would like to see a unilateral disarmament? Who likes this sort of economic formula: "Our country has very good climatic and soil conditions for agriculture. Better agricultural investment would allow us to feed not only ourselves but to export food as well. Everything shows that the demand, both domestic and foreign, for uncontaminated food will be greater than the demand for energy." How many carrots will we have to export to import one computer and who really profits from such a transaction?

This form of pacifism is a very strange and selective one. WiP talks about the freedom of the individual but puts the fate of all of society to the test. It champions "peace" but fails to perceive the threats to peace.

But maybe peace is not at all what they want?

P.S. For convenience, I have left off all quotes and their sources but every statement in this article is based on actual documents and if called to, I can show them.

**PZPR Complaints Commission Notes Increased Load**

*26000081b Lublin SZTANDAR LUDU in Polish  
5 Oct 87 p 3*

[Excerpts from article by A. Jasinski: "The Ultimate Instance"]

[Excerpts] The number of complaints received by the Central Committee and voivodship PZPR organizations continues to be quite large. People come to the party simply because of its role as a leader, director and servant. No one can claim that the party has no direct influence, does not make administrative decisions or avoids taking a stand. The party is and will remain the ultimate instance to which every citizen can appeal.

PZPR Central Committee Member Marian Marek is also a member of the Central Commission on Public Complaints, Recommendations and Signals. For that reason, he spends every other month in Lublin on call to receive complaints from the public. What sort of problems do people bring to a representative of the highest party echelon? Do people make direct appeals or do they go through all of the intervening channels?

Unquestionably, the most complaints concern both state-owned and cooperative housing. It seems that nothing can be done because the needs are so great and there are few means of satisfying them. Therefore, everyone with a complaint has to bring the proverbial teacher's apple. However, that is not always the case.

The second-greatest source of complaints is the activity of state government and economic administration. It is hard to either classify or denominate these complaints. Sometimes they concern mere formalities that for the strangest reasons reach all the way to the top.

There are many more such examples but we have included just the two that most often are the source of complaints to central and voivodship party organizations.

There is no need to give or analyze other examples and it far more important to simply ask why things are the way they are. In spite of the large amount of organizational and disciplinary work that has been done, why do people come to the party as a last resort? Why is it that one can sometimes easily intervene to resolve a problem without breaking any laws and by acting within the scope of existing regulations? Why is it that in many offices a person with a complaint is regarded as an evil necessity?

Hearing what the people with complaints have to say, it is hard to answer that question. This is made all the harder by the fact that sometimes a single telephone call is enough to give the matter a little color. How can this be prevented? What can we do so that the party will not have to renounce offices and officials who do what they do for their salaries and are not doing anyone any favors?

In the opinion of Comrade Marek, many party members in regional government and economic management simply forget that they are indeed party members. Some of them must be asked how they have forgotten the very meaning of their party membership. It is a significant point that in a whole day of receiving people, only two secretaries of village committees asked whether there were any complaints from their own villages or whether they could help settle their problems. It is also very telling that every bureau has its own primary party organization that often does not know how many persons have been put "on hold" and how many problems take months to be solved despite the fact that they could be handled in no time at all. It is very seldom that a primary party organization attempts to really see that such problems are properly resolved. It is no surprise that their members do not even know that that some citizen's problem has been handled by a higher party instance. Is that how it should be?

Here is one of the chief questions we must answer. Everything cannot be covered by regulations disciplining the work of government offices nor can a regulation be passed to guarantee sympathy for those who come with problems. We can however rely on party discipline because most directors got their jobs because it was the party that recommended them in the first place. Many office workers carry a party membership card and they should not forget that.

12261

**Regional Conference Directs Criticism at National PRON**

*26000081a Opole TRYBUNA OPOLSKA in Polish  
3-4 Oct 87 pp 1, 2*

[Article by Joanna Nijakowska: "Plenum Meetings of the Voivodship PRON Council—the Bitter Taste of Reflection"]

[Text] Yesterday's meeting of the PRON Voivodship Council was not marked by a mood of excessive optimism. Discussion began after a break and barely half of those gathered returned to take part. This absence was noted by the participants who said that it was in itself a sign of the general passiveness in social life which they felt was caused by an excess of meetings that have often been used as a substitute for any kind of real action (there were even calls to control meeting-mania and protect party activists' time).

Much discussion was also devoted to examples of decisions that have weakened faith that there is any sense in taking action.

There was reflection on the role of the PRON movement. Many felt that the organization needs to strengthen its credibility. Here are some of the remarks made at the meeting. "We have taken too much on our own backs. We often get into things that have been

ignored or neglected by others and therefore we try to do others' work for them" (Kazimierz Kowalski, Opole). "Society has lost its faith in PRON since the 2nd Congress when no decisions were reached, even in important economic areas. Too much energy goes into reporting that 'forces' an increase in the number of local councils which makes it look like we are pursuing the old success propaganda" (Jan Pigon, Glogowek). "We cannot get people to listen to our recommendations" (Gerard Bekierz, Blachownia). "The PRON National Council has still not responded to the recommendations we made at the 2nd Congress. We also lost out on the boiler works because of a decision by the voivodship people's council so it is hard to be surprised that we have no local meetings with advisors" (Piotr Iwanecki, Kedzierzyn-Kozle).

Yesterday's meeting examined the course of discussions over a bill for an election ordinance which has become one of the important points in the work of PRON's voivodship council since the 2nd Congress (full information about the voivodship council's activities since the elections was presented by Małgorzata Bos, council vice-chairman) and the course of realization of the congress resolutions. Much attention was given the program commemorating the 50th anniversary of the Congress of Poles in Berlin (a report on which was given by Franciszek Adamiec, chairman of the Opole National Territorial Defense) and PRON's participation in ceremonies honoring this occasion (Teresa Smolinska). Information about the course of work to found Piast University in Opole was presented by Docent Stanislaw Gajda. His recommendations were discussed and then approved by the participants and a task force was set up to develop a concept for realization of this idea (the task force was led by Professor Maria Nowakowska).

Yesterday's discussions also addressed another theme and that was the situation in Polish education. There were calls for a comprehensive, well-planned system of historical and civil education (K. Kowalski), creation of recreation facilities for rural children and for better school conditions (Krzysztof Muszynski, Otmuchow, P. Iwanecki).

Those present also learned about trends in PRON activities since the 2nd Congress and the results of the work of a task force on certification.

12261

**Gdansk Defense Committee on Winter Preparations**  
26000083h Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish  
6 Nov 87 p 2

[Unattributed article: "Gdansk Defense Committee on Winter Preparations"]

[Text] A meeting of the Gdansk Voivodship Defense Committee was dedicated to preparations for winter.

The meeting was attended by Deputy Politburo Member and First Secretary of the Gdańsk Voivodship PZPR Committee Stanislaw Bejger and Vice-Premier Zbigniew Szalajda.

12261

**New Industry Minister Describes Staffing Changes**

26000083g Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish  
7 Nov 87 p 2

[Article by (sow): "Minister Bilip on His Ministry"]

[Text] "One minister and 4 vice-ministers, 13 department directors and 12 vice-directors is typical of what Polish industry will look like. Up to now, we have had 4 ministers, 21 vice-ministers, 74 department directors and 117 vice-directors in certain branch ministries," said Industry Minister Jerzy Bilip at his first meeting with journalists and members of the SD Scientific Writer's Club at the Unitra-Cemat Electronic Materials Science and Production Center in Warsaw.

12261

**Sobriety Called for at Workplace**

26000083e Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish  
7 Nov 87 p 2

[Unattributed article: "Everyone Without Exception Must Be Sober at Work"]

[Text] In the first half of this year, there were 31,000 recorded cases of drinking on the job but only about 5,000 persons were punished. Commenting on this apparently unexplainable discrepancy, the deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers Committee on Law Enforcement, Public Order and Discipline, Lucjan Czubinski, said that it is high time to not only place sanctions on people who drink at their jobs but to also draw conclusions about those that tolerate it. He stressed that the principle of sobriety at work must be applied to everyone without exception. Streets and places of work in Poland must be sober and law enforcement organs will do everything possible to ensure that they are.

12261

**PZPR Voivodship Plenums Held, Reported**

**Slowest Growth in Nowy Sacz**  
26000086 Krakow DZIENNIK POLSKI in Polish  
3-4 Oct 87 pp 1, 2

[Excerpts from article by (saw): "POP Members Should Live With the Problems of the Community"]

[Excerpts] (Own information) The resolution by the Nowy Sacz Voivodship PZPR Committee and the tasks of the voivodship party organization to enhance the

party's role in the voivodship's political life were inspired by the documents of the 4th Central Committee Plenum. These tasks were officially adopted at yesterday's plenum meeting of the voivodship party committee in a document that has been under preparation for several months. This document is the fruit of audits by the party's primary organizations, recommendations and observations made by individual party members, discussions with workers and discussions of the themes from the preceding 4th Central Committee Plenum.

This new way of preparing party documents has become the norm for the voivodship committee's activities. Leon Moranski, a member of the voivodship committee secretary and director of the Political Organization Department, spoke about changes in the style of party work. This enterprise is also an indicator of the activity of the voivodship's primary party organizations. Their conditions, weaknesses and shortcomings were presented by Czeslaw Michalec, secretary of the PZPR voivodship committee. In Nowy Sacz Voivodship, it is all the more necessary to talk about shortcomings because it has the lowest level of party membership in Poland. Only 5.3 percent of its citizens are party members. The party has few members among bluecollar workers, farmers and young people. If this weakness can be eliminated, the party will be able to act more effectively.

The plenum meeting was chaired by Jozef Brozek, secretary of the voivodship party committee.

**Lower Party Echelons to Be Involved**  
26000086 Lublin SZTANDAR LUDU in Polish  
12 Oct 87 pp 1, 2

[Excerpts from article by (bmk): "Plenum of the Chelm Voivodship PZPR Committee—The Future Belongs to the Active"]

[Excerpts] (Own information) The plenum session of the Chelm Voivodship PZPR Committee on Saturday, 10 October, was devoted to defining the role of the primary party organizations [POP] according to the resolution of the 4th Central Committee Plenum. The meeting was chaired by First Secretary of the Voivodship PZPR Committee Stefan Lyczak and was also attended by Henryk Kubiak, director of the regional sector of the Central Committee's Political Organization Department.

An introductory report read by Voivodship Committee Secretary Stanislaw Adamik stressed that along with the processes of growing democratization and economic reform, the center of gravity of party work has moved downward to the POP's because they constitute the first and broadest front for party actions.

The Chelm party organization presently has 14,200 members in 896 POP's and chapters. Some of them are strong and active organizations with much prestige but there are also those who limit their activities to paying dues and holding one meeting each year.

However, there are many weaknesses and shortcomings. For example, the number of young people among new party members has dropped. Work to increase the party's ranks has had little effect, the influence of party members in representatives organs, self-management and the trade unions has been quite varied and a large number of party members are too inactive.

Many POP's are very critical of how much influence they can exert in their own communities. They have indicated the increasing discrepancy between their actual activity and the tasks set by resolutions. The great number of tasks and the poor way in which they are adapted to local conditions, needs and possibilities do not encourage action but cause doubt and a feeling of helplessness.

The party's actions can be made more effective only if these weaknesses are eliminated, all the more so as the Chelm Voivodship party organization includes 8.5 percent of the local adult population and is a considerable social force.

Among other things, the discussion indicated that the POP's ideological functions cannot be separated from their economic or political functions. To have some prestige with the public, the party organization must also try to influence non-members. Only then will it be able to count on their support in solving troublesome problems.

The state of the party depends on the individual attitudes of its members. That makes it necessary to see that the personal authority of every party member increases.

As Henryk Kubiak stated in his speech, it is time to drop the tendency to slogans and generalization in party work, better prepare for meetings and conclude them by setting specific tasks. Party members should not tolerate the things that are dragging our country down and this is the key to realization of the slogan "the same party but not just the same."

First Secretary of the Chelm Voivodship PZPR Committee Stefan Lyczak summarized the meeting by stressing the need to increase POP activity more than ever before.

A resolution adopted at the end of the meeting outlined the most important directions for action to increase the POP's activity and role and for more efficiently realizing the resolution of the 4th Central Committee Plenum.

The plenum was also attended by a group of almost 100 first secretaries from POP's in Chelm Voivodship and representatives of the voivodship's aktiv that have been sent to aid the weakest party and youth organizations.

For their many years of service as first secretaries in POP's, a group of activists was given an award and letter from the voivodship committee's executive board.

**Rural Efficiency, Modernity Viewed**  
*26000086 Bialystok GAZETA WSPOLCZESNA in Polish 3-4 Oct 87 pp 1, 2*

[Excerpts from article by Jerzy Brodziuk: "Plenum of the Lomza Voivodship PZPR Committee and Voivodship Audits and Review Commission—For Productive Agriculture and a Modern Countryside"]

[Excerpts] The subject of yesterday's joint plenum session of the Lomza Voivodship PZPR Committee and Voivodship Audits and Review Commission was tasks of the voivodship party organization in the social, political and economic activation of rural areas. The meeting, which was chaired by the voivodship committee's first secretary, Mieczyslaw Czerniawski, was also attended by Deputy Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Zbigniew Michalek.

In a report by the voivodship committee's executive board, Voivodship Committee Secretary Mieczyslaw Brzezicki said: "Diverse reports, analyses and programs most often present a double image of Lomza's rural areas. Some villages give and some villages take. Most often, they state that the good villages are those that give while the bad ones give little and ask a lot. However, we must take a broader view of our rural areas. We must see them as areas with a rich assortment of changes and processes."

Lomza's rural areas are characterized by an increase in farm sizes, the growing skills of its farmers and agricultural workers and an increase in the average age of rural residents caused by a migration of youth to the cities. To make the rural areas more attractive to young people, we must make decisions in three basic areas: the economic, through the system of prices, credit and supplies, by making agricultural production profitable; culture and education, by making it easier for everyone to study and have access to culture; and the legal, by making it possible to inherit farms at a younger age. It is no less important to accelerate the pace at which equipment is provided by increasing help to the organizers of public actions.

At the present time, more than 7,400 party members or 45.9 percent of the voivodship's party organization live in rural areas. Every second member is a farmer. There are 642 POP's, 437 of which are typically rural. But two-thirds of the villages do not have POP's and in every third village, there is not a single party member.

This makes it necessary to increase the number of rural party members.

"In our rural areas," said M. Brzezicki, "there are, aside from PZPR members, more than 7,000 members of the ZSL, nearly 10,000 members of the Union of Polish Socialist Youth and the Rural Youth Union and many members of other social and professional organizations. This offers an enormous potential that we must actively use to spur rural society to independently realize its own aspirations. This should be encouraged by increasing the decision-making powers and status of rural self-government, the people's councils and the administration.

Aside from members of the voivodship committee and audits and review commission, farmers, POP secretaries and representatives of youth organizations also took part in discussion. They pointed out the falling profits of farm production. Some speakers stressed that farmers not only want to grow crops but also need moral satisfaction. Instead of pride and satisfaction in his job, a farmer often feels helpless.

Most speakers were critical but there were some who pointed out the good results of social actions and the POP's own activities.

First Secretary of the Voivodship Committee Mieczyslaw Czerniawski emphasized actions aimed at improving rural living and working conditions, the enormous soil improvement program, more rapid installation of rural telephone systems and an improvement in the rural water supply. The voivodship party organization is also preparing to deal with the problem of laying rural natural gas lines but must be aided in this by the public.

A resolution was adopted to submit a draft of tasks for party organizations, government, institutions of rural and agricultural service and social, professional and youth organizations in the social, political and economic activation of Lomza's rural areas to discussion and consultation by the rural public and for confirmation at the plenum meeting of the voivodship PZPR committee and the voivodship audits and review commission in April of next year. The resolution points out the urgent need for broadening the political front and places an emphasis on reinforcing the party's organizational and inspirational functions.

Leszek Grzybowski, bureau director of the Central Audits and Review Commissions, Hilary Karwowski, chairman of the ZSL voivodship committee, Sejm Deputy Anatoliusz Miszak, Wladyslaw Pulawski, chairman of the voivodship people's council, and Voivod Marek Strzalinski attended the plenum meeting.

**Youth, Bureaucracy Issues Discussed**  
*26000086 Bydgoszcz GAZETA POMORSKA in Polish 3-4 Oct 87 p 3*

[Excerpts from article by (Tes.-U.P.): "Plenum of the Torun Voivodship PZPR Committee—How to Make POP Work More Effective"]

[Excerpts] "Of course, the party is more than the sum of its POP's. However, without vital POP's that can put their statutory powers to use and fulfill their obligations,

the party would not be able to broaden its influence, effectively change conditions or fruitfully serve the working class and nation. The POP's form the foundation for the entire party structure. Therefore, it is the POP's above all that must implement the party's resolutions. The POP's contain an enormous potential for activity."

These words of First Secretary of the Voivodship PZPR Committee Zenon Draminski began yesterday's plenum meeting of the Torun Voivodship PZPR Committee dedicated to strengthening the POP's and increasing their efficiency. More than 100 first secretaries from POP's and PZPR factory committees attended the plenum along with representatives of the Union of Polish Socialist Youth.

"The 4th Central Committee Plenum," said the voivodship committee secretary, "has not closed discussion of the Politburo's themes. The questions raised by these themes remain important and many POP's still want consistent and earnest answers. The forms and methods of work that satisfied us yesterday are no longer useful today."

At the end of August 1987, the Torun party organization counted 441,156 members in 34 factory committees and 1,456 POP's. Some 26.8 percent of the first secretaries of the POP's and branch party organizations [OOP] are workers, 16.9 percent are peasants and 6.1 percent are members of youth organizations. About 35 percent of these secretaries are in their first term of office. In the last two years, 43 new POP's have been formed and 27 of these are in cities. In the first 8 months of this year, 843 new comrades, including 409 workers and 80 peasants, joined the party.

There has been a positive trend toward a further growth in organization and an improvement in the arrangement of party forces and the social and professional structure. Unfortunately, these positive changes were not found in all committees. One can also see bad trends such as the aging of the party ranks and an insufficient number of private farmers, bluecollar workers and youth among party candidates. In the last two years, 669 POP's and OOP's (37.5 percent of the total number) have not accepted a single new member and more than half of these organizations are rural ones.

Meanwhile, many intellectuals work outside of the realm of influence of the POP's. This is especially true in institutions of science, education, culture, health care, communal management and state government.

The party's functioning in rural areas is important. However, many POP's are alienated from their communities and can count only on their own members. Party members in POP's in institutions or places of work in the cities, members with much professional and social experience, do not show much interest in the rural organizations.

More attention must be devoted to youth and an effort must be made to reach them on a broader front and that is a harder task than it seems. Every POP must independently define its tasks and duties in this area.

It would be hard to say that the discussion during the meeting was especially novel or creative. None of the talk about gaining public prestige or trust or broadening the party's social influence went beyond generalizations but this is not the time to look for new fields of actions as there remains so much to do with current problems. There was a strong emphasis on the fact that the basic prerequisite for the party's fulfillment of its leading role is serving the people and being sensitive to their problems.

Many of the speakers discussed the problem of the continually poor level of activity of rank-and-file party members and the inability of many POP's to fulfill their tasks. One party echelon trying to increase work in residential communities is the POP in the Voivodship Internal Affairs Bureau.

One of the most important and promising conditions for increasing the party's strength is attracting younger members. There are still too few new young people joining the PZPR and Union of Polish Socialist Youth. What do young people get from the party? What must be done for young people to feel the need to join the PZPR?

The realization of recommendations made to POP's and their own initiatives are of enormous importance to the party's efficiency. These initiatives are often hindered by the bureaucracy and formalities.

At the conclusion of this plenum meeting, the Torun Voivodship PZPR Committee passed a resolution whose implementation was acknowledged to be the most important task for the organization and one that will improve the work of party committees and POP's.

The resolution states that the POP's prestige and credibility, the public's trust, openness and real action and an aggressive approach to resolving issues that are especially important to workers and the community should all result in a growth in party membership and a more correct structure of party membership and forces.

12261

#### Przemysl Defense Committee Meeting on Army Recruitment

26000083b Rzeszow NOWINY in Polish 1 Oct 87 p 1

[Article by (mn): "It's Off to the Army"]

[Text] (Own information) Yesterday's meeting of the Przemysl Defense Committee acknowledged the efficient course of this year's army recruitment campaign.

The committee stressed that this success was closely connected with the higher level of political and information activity by the regional recruitment commissions.

During Wednesday's meeting chaired by the committee chairman, Voivod Andrzej Wojciechowski, the course of recruitment to military vocational schools was positively evaluated. In the committee's opinion, there is a need for better contacts and cooperation between the administrations of specific schools and army representatives and more widespread use of such tried and trusted forms as "open barracks days" and youth trips to higher officers' schools.

12261

**Pre-Referendum PRON Seminar Stresses 'Social Acceptance'**

26000083a Koszalin *GLOS POMORZA* in Polish  
17-18 Oct 87 p 2

[Article by (lb): "Preparations for the Referendum—No Program Can Succeed Without Social Acceptance"]

[Text] (Own information) A two-day seminar of Koszalin Voivodship PRON officials, members of problem commissions and the chairmen of regional councils is being held in Mielno.

"No program will succeed," said Roman Wojcik, chairman of the Voivodship PRON Council, "without social acceptance and this makes it necessary to contemplate everything that was proposed to our society at the 5th Central Committee Plenum and the latest Sejm session."

The starting point for yesterday's discussion was a speech by Tadeusz Myslik, a member of the presidium of the Executive Committee of the PRON National Council and vice-chairman of the Polish Catholic Public Association. "To take effective action," said the speaker, "PRON must become a social force and the partner of the government. It cannot serve, as it often has, only as a decoration because if it does, this will deprive the government of a chance to learn what the public thinks about its decisions.

Reform must finally get off the ground. Things cannot continue as they have because we are becoming a hole in Central Europe.

The referendum will concern the pace of realization of economic reform and the shape of Poland's road to socialism. We must do everything we can to prevent it from becoming just an opinion poll of the official apparatus. This must be a referendum for the whole public.

The seminar participants also met with voivodship committee secretaries Stanislaw Bartoszewski and Zbigniew Michta, the USSR's consul general in Szczecin, Yury Ivanov, and Koszalin Voivod Jacek Czayka. They discussed the problems of reform, how to strengthen our

currency and establish realistic economic parameters, the price and income structure and the reconstruction taking place in the Soviet Union.

12261

**Contributions to Krakow Conservation Efforts**

26000078g Warsaw *RZECZPOSPOLITA* in Polish  
10 Nov 87 p 2

[Article by (W.P.): "Public Donations of 5.8 Billion Zlotys for the Conservation of Monuments in Krakow"]

[Text] Public donations since 1979 to conserve Krakow's historical buildings and monuments have now amounted to nearly 5.8 billion zlotys and 295,000 dollars. Donations from Poles working in the USSR have brought in 64,000 rubles. Thanks to these donations, it is now possible to purchase gold leaf for the continuation of conservation work and to buy radar equipment to locate subsurface deposits as well as safety and fire-prevention equipment to protect the State Art Collection in Wawel Castle.

12261

**Private Medical Aid Station Opens in Warsaw**

26000085a Warsaw *EXPRESS WIECZORNY* in Polish  
19 Oct 87 pp 1, 7

[Article by (BS): "The Inspiration Was EXPRESS WIECZORNY—The Capital's First Private Medical Aid Station"]

[Text] Since 2 November, Warsaw's first and the nation's third (after Lodz and Krakow) 24-hour private medical aid station has been operating.

"Will this aid station compete with the Ambulance Service?" we asked the aid station's founders, Małgorzata and Piotr Tarnowski.

[Answer] Absolutely not but many people already regard us as a private ambulance service. Our doctors will not be riding to so-called bad accidents like collapsed buildings, traffic accidents, poisonings and beatings.

[Question] At first glance, no one can always tell whether or not immediate hospitalization is required.

[Answer] If that becomes necessary, then the state-owned ambulance service comes....

[Question] Just what does this private medical aid consist of?

[Answer] We function somewhat like an intermediary for patient and doctor. The patient calls us needing advice and we call the responsible physician who then goes to see the patient.

[Question] How much does this cost?

[Answer] 1,800 zlotys which includes the cost of the doctor's visit. At the end of the month, we pay the doctors and we expect to receive a return of about 500 zlotys per house call from each doctor. Of course, this includes taxes.

[Question] Where did you get this idea?

[Answer] We got this idea from EXPRESS WIEC-ZORNY where we read about such a service in Lodz. We then contacted Jacek Drozd who runs that station and that is how it started. Later we spoke with some doctors, a few of which are in our family, and we also looked in the hospitals.

[Question] And it worked?

[Answer] More than 30 doctors from all specializations expressed a desire to work with us. They work every day in hospitals and clinics. If we have the money later, we plan to buy a USG apparatus, introduce a set of nursing services, laboratory facilities, outpatient service and maybe even an X-ray and other such specialized equipment. Since 2 November, we have been able to give our patients ECG's at home. We may still add acupuncture and massage but that all depends on how well things go in the beginning.

[Question] What district will the doctors be serving?

[Answer] We still have not been able to arrange extra gasoline for the doctors so we will have to limit ourselves to Greater Warsaw for now but our doctors want to work even farther out of town.

[Question] Since we seem to have inspired the whole thing, we wish you luck! We will make our first visit soon but as observers rather than patients.

12261

#### Ultrasound Sonograph Papal Gift to Jaroslaw Hospital 26000082b Rzeszow NOWINY in Polish 5 Oct 87 p 1

[Article by (mn): "Ultrasound Sonograph for Hospital in Jaroslaw—a Gift of Pope John Paul II"]

[Text] (Own information) Doctors, the staff and patients at the ZOZ [health care team] hospital in Jaroslaw have gladly received news of a gift from Pope John Paul II that the Charity Commission of the Polish Catholic Church will be sending them. The gift is one of the newest generation of "Sonoline LX" ultrasound sonographs made by Siemens.

"With our present state of knowledge, such a device is absolutely necessary for diagnosing abdominal illnesses and the course of pregnancy," said the ward head for the

hospital's department of gynecology and obstetrics, Dr. Jerzy Kaczor. "This device lets us objectively evaluate the state of health of both the mother and fetus and quickly intervene if a problem is discovered." The ultrasound, the first in Jaroslaw and the second in the voivodship, will help detect hard-to-diagnose illnesses in both men and women.

On Saturday, 3 October, the Pope's gift was officially presented in a special ceremony at the hospital. The ultrasound sonograph was presented in the name of Pope John Paul II and by the authorization of the Charity Commission by the vicar general of the Przemysl Diocese, Bishop Stefan Moskwa.

Sincere thanks for the gift were offered in the name of the administration of the ZOZ and the city authorities by Hospital Director Dr. Zbigniew Cerlich and the chairman of the Municipal People's Council, Jan Osada. The bishop also received a letter of thanks for Pope John Paul II.

12261

#### More Social Differences Likely To Result From Reform Implementation

26000152 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish  
6 Jan 88 p 3

[Interview with docent Boleslaw Przywara, director, Institute of Social Policy, Academy of Social Sciences, PZPR, by Barbara Drozd: "Know the Perils" under the rubric "National News"]

[Text] [Question] We are entering upon the second stage of the general restructuring of economic and political life. The public's view is that the need for the reform is due chiefly to the criticism of the existing situation, to discontent with the previous instruments, to flawed economic structures and solutions, and also to shortcomings of the political system. The reform proposals made devote little room to the social aspects. Do you consider the situation in the social domain satisfactory?

[Answer] Certainly not. The situation in the social domain is not diagnosed optimistically. As regards meeting the needs of the society, including also the basic needs, we still have not reattained the situation prior to the economic crisis. Its reattainment is being protracted, and in the last 2 years the situation has even deteriorated. For example, the supplies of many durable consumer goods—washing machines, refrigerators, and footwear as well—have declined. The availability of medicines and toilet articles has reached a critical state—we have not witnessed such shortages as at present since the early 1950s. Given the far from optimal performance of the health service, the conditions of medical care in general have deteriorated.

Recently, moreover, this has been compounded by the great fear of the growing inflationary spiral, prompted by the announcement of price increases; this fear resulted in panic buying of consumer goods, which has made them practically unavailable. All this has undermined the society's feeling of social security. The assurances that the anticipated price increases will not result in a worsening of living conditions must hardly have seemed credible.

I feel convinced that many citizens who did not participate in the referendum or who voted "No" were prompted by precisely such fear. Let me say more: This is a justified fear. For if we consider the 12-percent increase in real incomes envisaged for the current 5-year plan period, it will be seen that the experience of the first 2 years of that period alone undermines the credibility of that increase. In 1986 this planned increase proved to be zero, and in 1987 things were even worse—statisticians speak of a negative growth in real incomes, meaning in plain Polish that these have declined.

[Question] Thus the social domain exists in a not too good condition during the second stage of the economic reform. What is to be expected next?

[Answer] Above all, it should be realized that the second stage of the economic reform should consist of at least two periods—the period of the accelerated application of new mechanisms, to be followed by the period during which the economy is to begin operating normally under the reformed system. The social cost of the reform has to be assessed differently for each of these two periods.

During the first 3-4 years, even if we augment the supply [of consumer goods] markedly, we shall not attain an economic equilibrium, especially on the consumer goods market, unless we regulate prices and incomes. It is to be expected that the 27-percent price increases planned for 1988 will recur during the next 2 or 3 years as well.

[Question] Meaning a further decline in living standards?

[Answer] Not necessarily. If we are to allow this [price increases], we must assure a corresponding increase in nominal incomes on at least the same scale, by means of compensation payments and increases in benefits, chiefly pensions and annuities, and also family allowances, but primarily through increases in wages themselves.

[Question] It is my understanding that the best that can thus be accomplished would be stopping the decline in real wages. But don't you think that the absence of growth in real wages itself may become another obstacle to progress in the sphere of material production, and to the reform as well?

[Answer] This is a more general problem. It is to be deplored that the drafting of the assumptions of the second stage of the economic reform had not been

combined with the drafting of a particularized program for an at least partial improvement in living conditions and for meeting at least certain social needs that would have, e.g., identified certain domains of social protection to which priority would be given in the form of tangible improvements, e.g., public health and housing construction.

In promoting the assumptions of the second stage of the economic reform, justified emphasis is placed on the interdependence of economic and political changes. In this field a specific program has been proposed—the new regulations governing elections to people's councils, the strengthening of self-government, greater autonomy of social organizations, and the possibility of forming such new organizations. In the social sphere, on the other hand, there is no such particularized program. I have even encountered the opinion that the process of the deepening of democracy is used as a substitute for meeting social needs. And yet, reforming the economy requires both the broadening of democracy and an accelerated solution of social problems.

[Question] The need to work out a longrange program of social policy has long been mentioned. Its discussion at the Second National Party Conference has been predicted.

[Answer] It is to be a program of social policies for the 1990s, that is, for the period of normal operation of the reformed economy, whose development will hinge on social development.

Specific answers will also be needed to the question of how the satisfaction of social needs will affect production results positively and what fruits will be borne by the growth in national income and exports. Such expected social effects must be identified. What is more, the satisfaction of these needs must be given priority. And ultimately economic growth must be subordinated to social purposes.

I think that in the future we should avoid the arguments offered when presenting the assumptions of the reform and prior to the referendum, namely, that we must increase efficiency, accelerate exports, and intensify science and technology progress. Such arguments at once raise the question: For whose sake? After all, this does not concern effectiveness for the sake of effectiveness.

Nowadays it is not enough to give the same answer to this question as that provided so many times in the past, from the very beginning of the building of socialism, namely, that all this is being done for the sake of improving the conditions of societal life. This general goal requires highly specific formulations—how, when, and in what field will it be accomplished? Similarly, the old answer that first we should attain a particular level of production efficiency and only then we will think of meeting human needs, is no longer sufficient.

Conventional arguments of this kind and the whole manner of presentation of the assumptions of the second stage of the economic reform are influenced, in my opinion, by the old model of thinking about basic economic relations, which makes no allowance for the needs and requirements of the society.

[Question] What perils to social policy during the second stage of the economic reform do you dread most?

[Answer] There is no doubt that the increased role of market mechanisms and greater opportunities for private enterprise will intensify the material differentiation of the society, and hence also the differentiation of the possibilities for meeting needs. Hence, it should be an imperative of social policy to effectively delimit the imperiled domains. An increase in the number of families living below the social minimum should not be allowed, whatever the pretext—nowadays every fifth family lives below that minimum.

The level of the ceiling on wages and incomes also should be of concern; an incommensurate growth in the consumption of luxury goods would be counterindicated. Social consensus is needed regarding the scale of tolerable differentiation. We could, for example, reach an agreement that the ceiling on wages should be five times the average wage, and in the case of income per family member, ten times the current social minimum. Of course, that minimum must be continually updated and publicized.

[Question] Such a broad span in incomes may elicit social resistance in the sense that it conflicts with the idea of social justice.

[Answer] The principle of social justice is beginning to be reinterpreted. This principle is to consist in equality of opportunity rather than in equality of the level of satisfaction of needs. I have already referred to curtailing the consumption of luxury goods; this can be accomplished through price and fiscal policies; after all, that is what high prices for and taxes on luxury goods are for.

Of course, social resistance to any marked differentiation of wages and incomes will be easier to surmount if a majority of the society experiences a tangible improvement in living conditions and if those highest wages and incomes are made genuinely contingent on the results of labor, resourcefulness, initiative, and ingenuity.

There exists yet another peril, namely, that the growth in the role of money will result in an exacerbated struggle for ownership of material goods, that attitudes of egotism and greed, which always harbor the peril of a disintegration of interpersonal relations, will appear and intensify in this country. To prevent this, the problem of the humanization of labor and interpersonal relations will have to be reconsidered.

[Question] Increasingly often mention is being made of introducing payments for the heretofore free social services; the term "commercialization of general social needs" is already being employed. What do you think of that?

[Answer] I believe that this process has already advanced too far in certain fields, for example, in housing and interior furnishings or as regards certain cultural needs. I am opposed to the predicted introduction of payments for medical care. I really do not want to live long enough to experience a time when the thickness of my wallet will decide where I am to receive medical care and what kind of care. This does not mean that certain matters should not be brought into order, e.g., the availability of medicines and their prices. Above all, all the privileges of the social groups currently benefiting from free medicines should be eliminated. Only pensioners should be more than compensated for the attendant losses.

[Question] How do you view the role of social sciences in developing a broad program of social policies?

[Answer] Speaking most generally, social sciences must above all verify many theses formulated during the stage of industrialization and mandatory to this day. For example, a new look at the role of investments as a growth factor should be attempted. We face many questions as to whether we really should maintain such a high share of accumulation in distributed national income. Should labor productivity really outpace the growth in real wages, or should the growth rates of both be the same? The principal question relates to the role of wages. What should be their share in distributed national income? As known, in Poland this share is 31 percent, whereas worldwide it amounts to 50-55 percent.

This list of tasks for the social sciences could be made much longer. Generally speaking, the time has come for these sciences to discuss and present new interrelationships ensuing from the changes in socioeconomic life.

Unfortunately, so far the social sciences have not kept abreast of these changes, although they should precede them. That is why we are so often groping in the dark in our actions.

1386

**Reader Views 'Private' Versus Ideological Life as Major Youth Issue**  
*26000083d Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish*  
*4 Nov 87 p 6*

[Editorial letter by Janusz M. Kowalski: "I, Citizen..."]

[Text] It is indeed striking that I, as one of many members of our society, can speak my mind on any "great" issue. I can speak out in discussions about the institution of the civil rights ombudsman, the Central Annual Plan and the functioning of economic reform

including the necessary changes of the central apparatus but I feel absolutely powerless to influence what I feel are important and painful problems that affect me, my family, my neighborhood and my place of work.

Public thinking makes a distinction between the "private Fatherland" and the "ideological Fatherland" and each of us carries that distinction within us. I feel that the relationship between these two fatherlands has been fairly hindered, this having considerable social, political and cultural repercussions. I think that after the dramatic events at the start of the 1980s, we spent too long invoking the supreme values represented by buzz-words like "ideological Fatherland," "Poland," "White and Red," "Silver eagle" and "Jeszcze Polska nie zginela..." [Polish national anthem], etc., as if we had forgotten that the crisis had brutally turned us back to the "private Fatherland" of my home, my street, my shop and my village, neighborhood, department or place of work.

And today, we are reaping the fruit of the lack of equilibrium in this relationship. This is especially visible in the attitudes of the young generation. Just what sense do the prerogatives of the law on youth have if they cannot lead to any real possibilities for finding a place to live?

Nowadays, one sees people saying "let them have their advisors, let them have their meetings and let them meet and jabber—a lot of good it does me!". Such attitudes are fostered by what the public sees as the inefficiency of their actions. That is one of the mechanisms of this escape into private life which is not an escape into a marasmus but individual enterprise and activity for one's own interests.

I am one of the "socially overactive" people. As I have already said, I have influence solely over the "ideological Fatherland" and almost nothing to say about the "private Fatherland." For more than two years, I have fought to have rails installed on the stairway landings in my apartment building and I still have not been able to have any sidewalks built. In problems as minor yet so important to everyday life like the functioning of plumbing, the sewers, etc., I have many times run up against a situation that is an insult to my dignity by people who are professionally responsible for the given problem. The same is true of certain services: "Your refrigerator worked for a year? Then you will wait a year to get it replaced." The mass media have given examples of criminal neglect of citizens by the basic structures of government. These include personal jokes, neglect, insults and raising costs, etc.

All of these unpleasant facts have a negative effect and prevent people from having any faith in the social goals defined by the principles of our ideological doctrine.

I have a few propositions and expectations. I consider it necessary to turn back to the "private Fatherland" on a macroscale because this is where the battle for Poland's

future will be fought. The family must be considered in the future of our country. Everyone already knows that the family is the basic social unit but this is not too visible in the mechanisms of social life. How is it that not too long ago, people continually talked about the divisions of "son against father and father against son" while every study of values accepted by society showed the unchanged value of the family as the supreme goal in life? It is in the bosom of the family that we can hide from the sad state of our reality and we must take advantage of that.

Still another point. I think that it is time to take another approach to electing members of representative organs and I have a certain idea: in the first phase of campaigns, let those who want to be trustees announce themselves. They will not be announced but they themselves will want to accept this mandate and duty without the "blessing" of patrons. Let them later receive the support of their organizations and associations. Let representative functions be taken by those that feel they can handle them rather than those who are sponsored as candidates.

Perhaps we will then have a feeling of real influence over important issues. Our individual and very personal feeling of "I, citizen" will be greater and more construction for all of society.

12261

## ROMANIA

**Member of 'Free Romania' Group Interviewed by Slovene Journal**  
28000076 Ljubljana MLADINA in Slovene  
15 Jan 88 pp 28-29

[Excerpts] Please, do not buy any food products labeled "Made in Romania"—think about the fact that people in our country are suffering from malnutrition because of the export of essential food products. Each citizen is allowed 300 grams of bread a day and no more than 1 kg of meat, 50 grams of butter and 8 eggs a month—all for food stamps. If a person has bad luck, he is not able to obtain even the most basic foods in the markets. We are living under the Ceausescu regime which does not have anything in common with socialism any more. We are asking you to support our civil protest against Ceausescu's tyranny. Throughout the world, help us to isolate this regime. Through your boycott, bring glasnost and perestroika to Romania!

And if you are traveling to Romania, ask your neighbors, friends and acquaintances, each day at 2200 hours, to turn off the lights at their residences, for three minutes, as a sign of protest. Only the isolation of the red dictator Ceausescu, throughout the entire world, can bring us socialism and freedom.

[signed] "Movement for a Free Romania," December 1987, Bucharest

Interview with a member of the "Movement for a Free Romania":

### We Want Glasnost in Romania

[Question] During workers' protests on 15 November 1987 in Brasov, some 10,000 people stormed the city hall and party headquarters and shouted slogans such as "Down with Ceausescu" and "We want food and not tyranny," and ever since then we have been hearing more and more about a "movement for a free Romania." What are the goals of this group?

[Answer] They spoke in the name of the entire movement which is forced to operate underground. Our aim is the overthrowal of the government and party leader Nicolae Ceausescu, the red dictator, who has no equal in modern politics, who has, in all truth, lost all contact with the people.

[Question] Are you aiming for a liberation movement like the type we know about in the Asian or African countries?

[Answer] (Laughter) No, we are not calling for armed struggle. We are concerned with nothing more and nothing less than reforms, like those we know about in neighboring Hungary and with glasnost, like in the Soviet Union. We want glasnost and perestroika to also be put into practice in Romania! In the country in which Stalinism is still all-present in open form, where people are still put into prison during the night because of their critical comments and then they disappear without a trace, one can only fight through underground channels. Even a Politburo member is not permitted to venture the mildest criticism of economic trends—in such a case he can be confident that we will be removed from his position, because Ceausescu does not tolerate any back-talk. If anything were to start up, the "Conductor"—the "leaders" as he likes to be called—along with his whole family could lose power.

[Question] And how do you think that this can be achieved?

[Answer] By isolating the regime throughout the world. We are asking all people, whether they live in the Soviet Union, the GDR, Poland, Greece or Yugoslavia, to boycott Romanian food products in the stores, because our people are starving (see the appeal). We are calling our fellow countrymen to engage in civil disobedience, to turn off their lights for 3 minutes each day at 2200 hours. We support peaceful demonstrations, we condemn such phenomena as the looting of the stores in the Brasov disturbances, because we only give the security organs an opportunity to intervene in such cases, and they are

against us. The most important thing is to cut Ceausescu off from his most significant internal political support—the all-present secret police. A king without his servants is a dead king.

[Question] How do you evaluate the success of your movement as a political group?

[Answer] We are trying to achieve a political alternative in the framework of the existing political system in Romania and we think that they will take us seriously—either as a danger to them or as a partner in the discussions. While Ceausescu's policemen tirelessly issue warrants for our arrest, recently they received us in a very friendly manner at the Soviet Embassy when we stopped by with our propaganda leaflets. The Russian comrades showed that they understood our dissatisfaction with conditions in our country, but, at the same time, they let us know that they do not want to intervene, saying that the Romanians themselves could resolve the crisis in their own country. Of course, this conversation did not take place at the Soviet Embassy in Bucharest. In Bucharest, one cannot go to Big Brother's diplomatic mission because the road which leads to it is closed to pedestrians. When Gorbachev came into power, a great number of people besieged the embassy, handing or throwing letters over the wall, letters in which they vented their anger at the regime in the country. Who knows how many of our countrymen would go over to the Russians if this were possible.

[Question] What are the Romanians angry about? We know that the government in this country is unprecedented in its wretchedness, that any independent activity is nipped in the bud; but, concretely, are you prepared to give up your jobs and positions and go underground?

[Answer] We realize that we have rather high positions, but we will not talk about that now. Do not misunderstand—we want to avoid even the slightest hint of our own identities, because if they get us in their hands, martyrdom awaits us. This is the way it is: It is not the poverty, the repression and the all-present cult of the personality alone which are making a hell out of our existence, but all these things taken together. It is more than cruel that for the fourth winter, we must shiver in temperatures that are 12 degrees Celsius, as the government ordered.

Another example: for the past 10 years it has been impossible to buy any sort of contraceptive. With the slogan "A house without children is like a garden without flowers," Ceausescu wants his female subjects to produce three children each.

[Question] Some 2 million Hungarians and almost 250,000 Germans live in Romania. What is the fate of these minorities?

[Answer] Their fate is becoming worse and worse because of brutal forced assimilation. Our movement joins together Romanians and Hungarians and Banat Germans, but we do not have high regard for the policies of West Germany and Israel which think only about their own minorities [in Romania] and support the policy of emigration. The "ransom" of some 10,000 persons who have Romanian citizenship does not provide any political solution for us.

[Question] And what is the position of Yugoslavia in regard to this?

[Answer] To many Romanians it seems that there is no chance of a better life. Many of them risk death by trying to swim across the Danube and reach Serbia through Turnu Severin, the Iron Gates. Some lose their lives in the waves, others are arrested or shot at the Romanian border. Even if someone succeeds in getting across, no better fate awaits him at the Yugoslav border.

08309

## CZECHOSLOVAKIA

### Building of Krivoklat Dam To Be Abandoned 38726D Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 5 Feb 88 p 2

[Article by Jindra Cekalova entitled: "The CSR Government Environmental Council Recommends: Abandon the Plan To Build the Krivoklat Dam.]"

[Summary] Asking whether the Krovoklat Reserve is to be sacrificed to Economic Interests, Cekalova speaks of the "clash of interests which appeared in 1978" (less than 1 year after the Krivoklat Protected Regional Area was proclaimed by UNESCO), when the ministries started to delineate its borders.

Cekalova quotes Engineer Bedrich Basta, head of the Hydrotechnology and Hydropower Engineering Division of the Hydroproject Enterprise in Prague, and Engineer Adolf Maurer from the Federal Ministry of Fuel and Power Engineering as saying that the plans to build the CSSR's "largest pumped-storage power plant (PVE)" in the Krivoklat area has been shelved until it is finally decided "what is most beneficial from the social viewpoint."

Cekalova then describes the changes which would be caused by the planned project and states: "If the ecology and environment in the area are not to be disrupted, the construction of the Krivoklat PVE in the center of the biospheric reserve is not acceptable. That is why we consider significant the joint opinion taken by the CSR Ministry of Culture, the Central Bohemian Kraj Committee, and the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, in which they agree that the ecological consequences would be undefensible and that they oppose the project of a power plant there. The recommended either looking for another location for the project outside the protected area. At its Thursday [4 February] meeting, the environmental council expressed its support for their stand. Further detail will be prepared and submitted to the CSR Government for discussion. The council recommended abandoning the idea of building the PVE."

## GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

### Combines' Function in Production, Improvement Discussed

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[Article by Prof Dr Helmut Koziolek, member of the SED Central Committee and director of the SED Central Committee's Central Institute for Socialist Economic Management: "Business Management in the System of Our Socialist Planned Economy"]

[Text] The centerpiece of the social strategy and the major battlefield of our party is the policy of the main task, the unity of economic and social policy. It assumes that high economic achievements based on increasing

labor productivity are imperative for more and more definitely fashioning the socialist humanistic character of our society so that every citizen can feel it. This way precisely we consolidate our country's stability, strengthen socialism, and help raise its international authority.

This policy, introduced by the 8th party congress and confirmed by the 11th, has stood up very well. The economic upswing since the early 1970s has crystallized in the material and cultural standard of living for all the people. It was used "to develop a social policy in terms of socialism as is unprecedented in the history of our people."<sup>1</sup> It persuasively expresses that we never conduct the struggle for higher labor productivity and efficiency for its own sake. We always conceive of it as a means and precondition for social effects, for progressive transformations in the people's lifestyle, the basic trends of which are charted long-term in the SED Program. Higher labor productivity in socialism depends on the working people's creativeness as they actively take part, in social security, in enforcing key technologies, a scientific organization of their labor, in preparing and implementing ambitious plans—wholly in terms of democratic centralism. Greatly increasing labor productivity is the most important source for economic growth. It steadily raises the national income.

### Combines and Their Enterprises—Socioeconomic Units With High In-House Responsibility

Social wealth first and foremost depends on the production level, on the outcome of the working people's labor in the producing sectors, because—as Marx showed—material production exclusively creates use value and value. On this recognition, confirmed in decades of experience in our country, the role of our combines and enterprises is based. They are the organizational forms of socialist property in which the socialist proprietors on a high level exercise their activities in the process of use value and new value formation. In them the material product is created, there evolves the needed surplus product, a gain for socialism.<sup>2</sup> Both elements form the net product, that part of material production that remains after production consumption is taken off and forms the basis for accumulation and consumption. That bestows so high a rank on net production in the performance rating.

The speed in which we can shape the developed socialist society and our chances to make use of economic performance growth for the benefit of social implications greatly depend on enterprise and combine efficiency in producing for the population, the economy, and foreign trade products of increasing use value. Through their surplus product the combines with their enterprises lay the foundation for extending their own reproduction process and for the development of the social conditions; they also contribute to solving overall social tasks in feeding the state budget. Therefore the combines and enterprises bear the responsibility, proceeding from the

plan, to produce production lines that are constantly being perfected in their use values through technologies on the highest scientific-technical level. Only by succeeding in making scientific-technical data economically effective at a large range in combines and enterprises, and fast, can one over the long haul come out with a growing surplus product by way of the lowest feasible expenditures. That precisely is an implacable criterion for the effectiveness of an enterprise or a combine, and that is why such great importance is attributed to the upgrading process.

The fundamental role the enterprises and combines play in implementing the main task policy also is found in the structuring of the social processes and conditions in the enterprise. As the place for the material production, it has a great share in the development of the material-technical base for the shaping of the developed socialist society and the working people's working and living conditions. Therein proceeds the intensive interlinkage of technical, economic, and social processes. It is "in our socialist planned economy a live organism, a socioeconomic identity. An enterprise is a collective of people working according to clear state plan tasks and invested with high economic in-house responsibility to not only fulfill these state plan tasks, but to exceed them and to open up, in this plan implementation process, new reserves for raising the performance growth in the future, especially through science and technology, through rationalization measures, through steps toward automation, and through the saving of energy and material."<sup>3</sup>

It is up to the combine director personally, relying on the party organizations and closely cooperating with the social organizations, especially the trade unions, not only to preserve this character of the socialist enterprise, but steadily to perfect it through the scientific-technical progress. Irrevocably included in this process is the working people's comprehensive democratic participation in the management and planning of the whole enterprise business and their active role in the plan debate, the socialist competition, the innovator movement, the movement of the youth brigades and youth research collectives, and many other forms of real socialist democracy in the sphere of production. This is the only way in which the principle of conformity of interests in the reproduction process, through steadily controlling the objective laws and their consistent application, makes a difference as an impulse for the benefit of the people.

The general director of a combine—as also the director of an enterprise—is the agent of the workers and farmers power appointed by the state. On behalf of strengthening the GDR economy, he has to lead the collective of workers and scientists, researchers and engineers, economists and managers in the combine to top economic results.<sup>4</sup> He is personally responsible for setting up in the combine, that bears a high economic in-house responsibility, the available resources and capacities in such a

way that efficiency and productivity increase at a maximum. He is trained for it, he gets more training in line with it, and through the principle of individual management he has many authorizations, while according to the principles of socialist democracy, he has to render accounts.

All steps to increase productivity and efficiency are designed with a view to the year 2000 in our economic strategy. First comes a still more effective link between the advantages of socialism and the scientific-technical revolution. Especially through the increasingly broader application of the key technologies a higher quality of productive forces is generated, and the economy and society are profoundly affected as a whole. They promote the economic structural change, and since they cut through all the sectors and have great impact on the entire economy, they trigger integration, innovation, and qualitative effects. All that channels into productivity growth, into a more dynamic productive forces development. "The whole meaning of a faster growth of the means of production only is, after all, that replacing manual work by machine work—the technical advance as such in machine industry—calls for more of a development in the industrial branches themselves."<sup>5</sup>

Productive forces development coming from the key technologies thus turns out to be the decisive entity for the development of the enterprises and combines, which form the backbone of our planned economy. They call for a higher level of the socialization of labor, hence of the shaping of the production relations. The level of the production relations attained through the relatively closed reproduction process in the combines in turn becomes an activating factor for the further development of the productive forces and the greater economic efficacy of the key technologies. So then through the combines and enterprises, the advantages of socialism are connected with the accomplishments of the scientific-technical revolution. In them the work of tens of thousands of working people—workers and technicians, scientists and designers—is merged, their activities function in combination, are passed on from step to step and combined, and they are being exchanged. Marx, who worked out this process of making effective the "productive forces of combined social labor," explained that this way the scientific-technical and the economic progress of one production level communicates itself to the next and only there becomes fully effective.

To the extent that through the increasing cohesion of the cycles within the combine, the economic, technological, and production organization links and cooperation relations among the working people increase, and to the extent that the combines more and more flexibly take account of the demands and conditions of the production and reproduction process, the weight of the qualitative structure and organization of their total worker grows too. The demands made on the qualifications, versatility, and mobility of the working people rise. This clearly reveals that the productive forces development

and the shaping of socialist personality traits as much as the social relations among people and their economic ideas are inseparable from the advances in science and technology, the ways and means of the technological and labor organization application, and the combination of labor.

In the combines and enterprises the central state management and planning get more and more effectively connected with the creative work of the working people. Socialist competition, the extensive plan discussions, the broad application of proven methods of socialist business management and discriminating performance comparisons—all these forms of our socialist democracy in the enterprise, providing more elbow room for all working people's creative activities, are indispensable for the in-house responsibilities of combines and enterprises.

Already our combines and enterprises have a high economic in-house responsibility. It crystallizes mainly in the initiative to take part in setting high economic targets and organize the surpassing of them. Through further perfecting management, planning, and effective accountancy, and through implementing the principle of in-house production of the means, we intend further to raise the responsibility of the enterprises and combines for their reproduction process and thereby to increase productivity and efficiency in the interest of shaping the developed socialist society. That is also the way in which socialist business management has to be further developed.

In short, the task of socialist combine and enterprise management is, through forming the social total worker and his planned combination via all steps—from production preparation through production itself all the way to sales—to make the maximum contribution to the fulfillment of the economic tasks in that—in accordance with international and national standards—mainly the upgrading process is undertaken on the basis of modern technologies always at a higher scale through minimal costs and with maximum results. The way and most resolute measures for it are set down in the economic strategy. They have to be applied.

Hence, socialist business management aims at most effectively structuring the immediate production process and its most effective connection with production preparation and the attaining of products and services by means of management, planning, and effective accountancy and their constant improvement. That implies above all high economic and social effectiveness in the business activity. Socialist business management is inseparable from the total social reproduction process. It is handled in terms of democratic centralism through the democratic participation by the working people, the managers bearing the responsibility by the principle of individual direction. The ministries have to assist the combines in it—through providing central state planning

with expertise, introducing computerized accounting throughout, and further raising the combines' in-house responsibility seeking high performance growth by way of intensification.

Unequivocal social target criteria were set down for it through the major parameters for performance rating. Focusing on net production, we aim at trimming production consumption and ensuring continued stable growth for our national income. Through the parameter of cost reduction per M 100 in commodity production we aim at trimming the expenditures in live labor and at high profits for socialism. In being oriented to more products and performances for the public and for export, we seek more of a distributable end product and more high-quality merchandise, manufactured at favorable costs, for consumption and export. That meets the need of paying still more attention to the commercial aspect of business under the conditions of the scientific-technical revolution. The categories of profit, costs, and price play an essential role in this process, for it largely depends on their proper proportions for the economic interest of the combines and enterprises to be still more compellingly directed at high-grade manufacture, proper as to demands, productivity, and efficiency.

#### **What Is the Basis and the Effect of the New Grade of Socialist Business Management?**

The level reached by our combines and enterprises in the production relations and in the new grade of the productive forces compellingly demands a new grade of socialist business management defined by the ever closer ties between performance, management, and information processes. The basis for it are an always timely and uniform data base and an effective communications infrastructure which—facilitate a simultaneous linkage of data from the industrial reproduction process at large at greater accuracy and better quality. Being processed toward more thorough and faster management decisions we must reach the point of controlling the interactions between productive forces and production relations on the enterprise and combine levels with utmost efficiency.

Modern information and communication—relying on efficient job-related computer techniques, large-scale computers and data banks, local and transregional networks and new forms of communication (screen, text, language)—set the premises for more effective plan preparation and the planning of the entire reproduction process and its separate phases in the enterprise and the combine. That includes technical and technological production preparation, production planning, control, and implementation, the flow of material oriented to the process of operations, inventory and storage management, current business data computation embracing the entire reproduction process, and a market-oriented sales and service process. An effective computer-aided processing of these business management matters requires software solutions at a high quality with substance and organization accounted for in detail.

This brings out most clearly how much of an influence the working people's abilities have on the efficiency of business management. Together with developing the technical base one must therefore at the proper time solve all the tasks that result from the new grade of socialist business management with respect to the working people's social conditions. Training, retraining, more versatility of the working people and improving the social infrastructure in the enterprise and in the territory are gaining increasing importance. However complicated the technical and economic problems may be that are raised by computerized socialist business management—to a large extent they are being dealt with by looking at the working people's social concerns and by improving their working and living conditions. When one understands this complexity one has the key to dealing with it in such a way that socialist property will be used well and be augmented, that minimum investment produces a maximum yield in end products, and high social results for the working people come out of it too. Developing computerized business management calls for the working people's extensive partnership and expert participation on every job, in every work collective. What is wanted is not a knowledge of details, but considerations transcending any one process for the purpose of making productive and effective use of computerized business management at its whole range. Everyone must be fully aware of the portion of his efforts in the expenditures, costs and total revenue of the enterprise. High demands result from that for the working people's qualification level and versatility combined with demands for their creativity, their creative search for new and improved solutions.

More and more combines report good experiences with training measures that prepare or accompany the production process or relate to personal features. They depend on solid basic vocational training, pay attention to the knowledge, abilities, and experiences gained in practice, avoid unnecessary repetition, and live up to the specific requirements and the new contents of labor in an effective practical way. To a large extent the combines make retraining instructors available from their own personnel. More and more managers of production sectors in the process of being developed assume on their own some of the training responsibilities for future associates.

Putting up a computerized business management is bound to depend on the on-going automation in an enterprise or combine. That way alone will it be possible:

- greatly to enlarge the productive force of live labor;
- greatly to reduce the production cycle and better to control, and to speed up, the intensive expanded reproduction cycle in all its phases;
- abbreviate the time it takes to produce the products, reduce material stocks and working capital, and thus trim the costs considerably;

—integrate the guarantees for high product quality within the technical production preparation and production process; and

—achieve the flexibility and reaction capability by which one can meet the changing market demands and conditions.

The use of CAD/CAM terminals already produces many of these effects. Through more integration between computerized technical production preparation, production planning, and control, and handling the flow of material, transportation, and storage processes, the intensive expanded reproduction cycle in the combines and their enterprises can be mastered more fully in all its phases. That creates chances for productivity and efficiency growth at new dimensions.

#### Computer-Aided Work and Its Opportunities

Computer-aided business management is not possible by a mere transfer of ordinary routine processes run in their customary organizational and substantive manner to the computer. What matters, rather, is to explore the new opportunities of computer techniques—like function simulation, selection and rating of variables, optimization, projective cost and value computation, performance comparison, and developmental analyses—and fully to use the high operational speed of those techniques and their accuracy for productivity and efficiency growth. New labor sequences and contents have to be organized along with perfecting the social conditions in the enterprise, as it often is not simple to take over in the existing form the data available in the enterprise reproduction process—like specifications, product parameters, material and energy consumption norms, work plan basic ration cards, cost data—but they must be carefully checked and revised in being processed for computerization. That is possible only by broadly drawing in the working people. Helped by their expertise, one must perfect the various business management processes in such a way that they can be computerized and then—placed on a uniform data and information base—gradually be put together from isolated solutions into a coherent system. The classical elements of cost/benefit conceptions, proven tools and methods like cost bearing, specific cost, and costing accounts, and keeping budget accounts in the work collectives directly, gain greater evidentiary authority through computerization because it makes possible drawing inferences faster and spotting weak points earlier.

The cost bearing account is the cornerstone of authoritative cost accounting and of course also an element of socialist business management as aimed at an optimum cost/benefit ratio. In the form of accurate projective and subsequent calculations, supplying the managers with advance computations or outcome evidence, they provide necessary profit or loss information for the products, components or single parts, and indicate reserves for design and technological changes aiming at further

cost reductions. Economic analysis and business management performance computations are unthinkable without skilled prior and subsequent calculations. Computer technology is an extremely suitable tool for it. Sensibly combining computer work with the proven business management methods presupposes perfecting economic processes in terms of data and data structures, getting them ready for computerization, and arranging points of intersection so as to ensure an efficacious integration into the enterprise system at large. That affects mainly the following processes:

- plan start analyses (medium and long-range), planning, plan accounting and control;
- order taking, balancing incoming orders against available implementation conditions, annual and assortment plans;
- balancing of material funds;
- design and technological production preparation including quality safeguards;
- operative production planning and control, capacity and run-through planning while reducing stocks and run-through periods;
- direct control over the material flow, the making available of means of production and semifabrics, and an order-related regimen for the storage and transportation processes;
- projective computation of costs, prices, valuta yields, and profit;
- cost computation and cost accounting; and
- contract and assortment control.

Through an ambitious assortment of integrated microprocessor and storage circuits, efficient job-related computer technology, and some 31,000 CAD/CAM terminals, the GDR set up the hardware base needed for a broad application of computer methods in the socialist business management. Producing another 10,000 job computers by the end of the year will further expand the opportunities, quantitatively and qualitatively, of socialist business management. For many business management processes ambitious and effective software solutions have already been developed, but they must still more effectively be reused and adapted to multiple use.

The sources for productivity and efficiency growth at new dimensions today no longer lie only in automating the technical-technological base for production preparation and production operations, but primarily in combining computerized production planning and control with new organizational structures in the industrial reproduction process. That includes a more effective material flow with minimal stocks and low operations

costs including a rational handling of the intra-plant storage and transportation processes—tasks summarized in computerized business management under the term of logistics. International analyses indicate that a work-piece often finds itself only up to circa 10 percent of the run-through period under processing operations directly. This illuminates what reserves can be tapped through computerized business management in exploiting its potentials purposefully for a much better control over the entire cycle. The combines and enterprises hence face the task to organize the production process in such a way that they, through more accurate information on what is needed for the various deadlines, get along on a minimum of stocks and radically shorten the run-through periods for the products.<sup>6</sup> Computerized business management thus brings it about that information and organization gain greater effect still as productivity factors and that ultimately—as Marx put it—a new “mode of public management”<sup>7</sup> becomes necessary.

#### Key Issue for Socialist Business Management: Cost Cutting and Higher Profits

Time and again one finds the key for higher efficiency and production in economizing the cycle. The experience of successful combines and enterprises brings out: Science and technology, rationalization and placing investments according to plan, the effort about high qualities and the most efficient use of installations, trimming specific energy and material consumption and costs altogether and a high rate of growth in production proper as to demands cannot be separated from one another. That way alone one will increasingly improve the mastery over the entire intensive expanded reproduction cycle in its unity. If one checks the main handles for cost reduction and higher profits from this vantage point, they are found undoubtedly in the products being proper as to demands and marketable, in high production continuity and, closely connected with that, in a commensurate inventory economy for ancillary products, for incomplete production and products and parts meant for sale, and in trimming material and energy consumption. An important efficiency factor which reduces the costs per M 100 of commodity production and increases the profit made is the boosting of production according to demands in volume and units.

The key technologies offer immense possibilities for cost reduction. Boldly grasping those chances must become more of a central concern yet in socialist business management. Thus one must evaluate most thoroughly changes in the structure and dynamics of the costs, and the effect and role of cost-affecting factors—as they come about when the key technologies take effect. Forms and methods of the active costing efforts in the combines and their enterprises have to be placed on a higher level. If one wants to trim the costs one must know all about costs. We must, way ahead of time and concretely, under the new conditions, analyze the development of types, bearers and positions of costs and understand, not just ex post facto, but possibly on the spot and more and more

presciently, such complexes as energy costs, transportation costs, costs of rejects, and inventory and storage costs. Careful analyses also are needed for involving the working people, if possible in a job-related manner, in the cost reduction effort. Scientific labor organization collectives, brigade economists, FDJ control posts, and quality circles have long proven themselves in this. Especially modern information technology offers more favorable conditions also in this respect.

Different cost planning also helps business management control the cost trend. In considering the enterprises the base for the cost reduction struggle, the combines assign leads to them for their in-house responsibilities in cost reduction. Computerized socialist business management creates new opportunities for it. It furnishes information on cost production, cost causation, and cost development in production preparation, in production itself, and in bringing out the products; and it offers cost information on main-line commodities, technologies, methods, and materials as that could not be gained along traditional ways. Knowing the basic changes in costs that way is imperative for using the costing plan more effectively as a management tool, for setting down ambitious and realistic cost reduction tasks, and for effective comparisons among combines and enterprises.

#### Total Concept Controls Efficiency

Our early experiences have clearly shown that setting up a computerized socialist business management on a high qualitative level presupposes an ambitious and intensive learning and training process which, in connection with a step by step development of the technical, organizational and social basis, must be thoroughly prepared and implemented. Just as in the case of CAD/CAM and flexible automation, one must, in conformity with the given level of computerized work, and already before it starts, make the needed and often far-reaching changes in organization, processes, and substances. That includes:

—replacing the conventional function-related enterprise organization by a product and process-related organization and going into a type of production that is tied to orders and oriented to customer-specific end products;

—meeting the increasing parallelism of labor sequences and the fusion of previously separate steps in labor through more of a process and product-related management organization;

—developing and introducing a technology for production preparation and implementation, and product design, that is adapted to the parallelism of labor sequences and order-related production;

—standardizing process sequences, software, points of intersection, and data transmission, as this is imperative for uniform data structures, which alone can make possible a computerized business management penetration of the entire reproduction process; and

—preparing the working people for their new ambitious tasks through well-timed and comprehensive training and retraining, and shaping the substance of their work in such a way that their capabilities are fully exploited.

International analyses document that the efficiency of automation solutions comes only up to circa one-fourth out of technology and three-fourths from efficient business management, which includes organization and logistics. Thus business management vantage points determine the selection of the computer, communications, and automation techniques to be employed. Doing full justice to them requires a total concept in the enterprises and combines that embraces the increasing integration of the scientific-technical, economic, and information processes into a cohesive computer system as well as the social effects resulting from it. This concept thus lays down all steps from insular solution via CAD/CAM and automation solutions down to complex automation and integrated computerized manufacture. Its quality criterion is the proof that in each phase of implementation a productivity boost is reached in line with the efficiency criteria issued by the party.

Another important requirement for computerized business management is to ensure the flexibility of the entire reproduction process. That does not, after all, result automatically from the higher flexibility in the technological base of production but requires, furthermore, that the manufacture of preparatory and subsequent processes becomes computerized and, above all, the material flow is kept in line with the production run-through. The requirements resulting from such flexibility and logistics can be met only when all basic data from the reproduction process get a multivalent use for management, planning, balancing, accounting, analysis, and effective accountancy. Important for it is an effective data infrastructure in the enterprise and combine, generated by the step by step construction of local networks. (In this case, a varied number of independent computers or data stations are connected with one another via an efficient transmission line so that anyone can transmit data to anyone else).

Initial experiences from the Brandenburg quality and refined steel combine in operating such a network show that through well-timed and precise information for planning, management, and balancing, reserves at the scope of the overall economy can be tapped. The use of CAD/CAM techniques in connection with flexible automation and computerized business management becomes decisive for the technology and organization, and so also for the labor economy, of the enterprises.

R&D, manufacture, and sales fuse into a uniform computerized process which facilitates flexible reaction to rapidly changing users' needs at a high productivity for the manufacture.<sup>8</sup>

### Computerized Jobs Assist the Managers

Our practice has shown us that when the entire reproduction process is skillfully managed, computerized business management produces decisive efficiency effects. Typical of such management activity today is that the enterprise managers and general directors in a clear combative position and with high determination implement the tasks assigned by the 11th SED Congress. Under their personal management:

—the long-term production, refinement, and rationalization strategy is worked out and translated into long-range and annual plans. On that basis then comes a demand-oriented management of R&D down to sales, based on intensive market analysis;

—more shape is provided for the combine and its enterprises, so that the reproduction process becomes increasingly cohesive;

—working people initiative is developed and the public labor resources are rationally assigned; and

—a high efficiency growth is organized through flexible automation and the use of CAD/CAM terminals together with the modernization of the basic assets.

All that calls for a management data system and—included in it—managerial jobs for the various echelons up to the general director. Modern computer technology hence helps substantiating and rationalizing decision-making processes whereby it then also establishes new opportunities for closer ties between the managers and the work collectives. Managerial jobs already functioning confirm them as an essential tool for using the possibilities of computerized business management for production boosts and better product quality, and for increasing productivity and efficiency in the whole process. Through their assistance production can become more smooth, and the cooperation relations within and among the combines can be more quickly affected and made more effective. With the systematic coupling of jobs in the computerized accounting system of metallurgy and chemistry, with jobs in the plan preparation and control of the science and technology plan, for the preparation and processing of extension permits, for export and contract controls and others, we already have today a variety of computerized jobs for partial business management processes aimed at higher efficiency. Productivity growth, however, mainly comes from combining and completely and effectively using the entire operations data base. Those inferences therefore gain in importance that are aimed at organizing, step by step, computerized production throughout, whereby then to

use computerized socialist business management comprehensively. To face the high demand on political and state leadership activity resulting from it no longer is one question among many today, but is an objective necessity to meet the standards of our time, organizationally, technologically, economically, in modern industrial production.

### Footnotes

1. Erich Honecker, "Speech on the 11th FDGB Congress," "Protokoll des 11. FDGB Kongresses," Tribuene publishing house, Berlin, 1987, p 93.
2. Cf. Karl Marx, "Das Kapital," Vol III, "Werke" [Works], Vol 25, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1964, p 883.
3. Guenter Mittag, "Strong Economic Growth for the Policy for the Good of the People," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 3/4 October 1987, p 4.
4. Cf. Guenter Mittag, "Die Arbeit der Partei zur Verwirklichung der vom XI. Parteitag der SED beschlossenen oekonomischen Strategie" [Party Efforts in Implementation of the Economic Strategy Issued by the 11th SED Congress], Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1987, p 81.
5. V. I. Lenin, "On the So-called Market Question," "Werke," Vol 1, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1961, p 96.
6. Cf. Guenter Mittag, "Die Arbeit der Partei...," op. cit., p 34.
7. Cf. Karl Marx, "Das Kapital," Vol I, "Werke," Vol 23, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1974, pp 496-497.
8. Cf. Guenter Mittag, "Die Arbeit der Partei...," op. cit., p 35.

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### HUNGARY

#### Enterprises Issue Profit-Sharing Certificates to Employees

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12 Nov 87b p 13

[Article by Pal Emrod: "Is It a Security or Something Else?"]

[Text] The question of how to give workers an incentive based on their enterprise's net worth is as old as socialism itself and has yet to be answered. For it has been demonstrated that socialist awareness alone is not enough. Initially the various types of securities, and stocks in particular, smacked for a long time too much of capitalism to even come into consideration. However, it

has become unambiguously clear by now that securities must not be linked to ideology. After all, [corporate] bonds have fulfilled their expectations. And now, with the recently published decree of the Council of Ministers, rules are in place that specify the conditions for issuing profit-sharing certificates to employees. But statutory regulations on issuing stocks have yet to come.

It is common practice among capitalist corporations to reward the loyalty, outstanding performance or high professional qualifications of their employees with stock, rather than with cash. (In the United States, for example, this is the only way of giving middle managers, above a certain salary grade, an incentive linked to the corporation's earnings; because higher salaries would not provide any incentive, due to the progressive rates of income tax.) Often, of course, it is already an advantage when the workers, respectively the managers, are able to buy stocks at their market price, but on favorable terms.

Individuals in Hungary cannot be stockholders as yet, because the enterprises may not issue such securities to either their employees or other persons. However, any enterprise is already able to issue profit-sharing certificates to its employees. Early last summer the press reported the first experiments, and particularly the example of the Taurus [Rubber Industry Enterprise] evoked wide response.

The recently published Decree of the Council of Ministers No 51/1987 clearly states that employees of an enterprise may purchase its profit-sharing certificates, but may resell them only to fellow employees. These provisions of the decree lead to two conclusions: First, that the issuing enterprise may sell and trade its profit-sharing certificates only to and among its employees. And secondly, that the profit-sharing certificate is not a real security, because it is not quoted in the [secondary] certificate market, if there were one, and therefore its price is not determined by supply and demand, i.e., by the market's judgment of the enterprise.

The decree establishes that all profit-sharing-certificate issues of an enterprise jointly may not exceed 50 percent of the issuing enterprise's capital. Which means that if the enterprise has, say, 1.0 billion forints of capital, then the combined total of all the profit-sharing certificates issued, at their face value, may not exceed 500 million forints.

Otherwise the issuing enterprise is free to set all the other conditions of its profit-sharing certificates for employees; it does not have to consult, or obtain a license or approval from, any government agency.

At Taurus, in the cited example, the interest and share of earnings jointly could amount to a current yield of 15 or 15.5 percent on the issued profit-sharing certificates. In other words, this type of security is a better investment than a[n ordinary corporate] bond [which bears only interest]. Because a bond pays 11 to 12 percent interest

on average. But let us quickly add that the issuing enterprise will redeem its profit-sharing certificate whenever requested to do so; whereas a bondholder must go to the underwriting bank if he wants to sell his bond before it matures. (But we should also point out that if the holder of a profit-sharing certificate wants it redeemed during the year, then he forfeits both the interest and the share of earnings payable on the certificate. The enterprise—e.g., Taurus—will pay interest and a share of earnings only if the owner of the profit-sharing certificate is a holder of record also on the last day of the year.)

Of course, the practice at Taurus—in other words, a current yield of around 15 percent—is not an iron rule. When the Amfora Commercial Enterprise was toying with the idea of a profit-sharing-certificate issue early last summer (not yet feasible at that time), it planned to offer a current yield of 20 percent. That would have included interest (between 11 and 12 percent) charged to cost, and the rest would have been a share of earnings payable from the incentive fund. Amfora, incidentally, weighed also the advantages of issuing stocks. The members of the enterprise council, who have been doing a considerable amount of extra work without any pay during the past two years, would have received free stocks, to compensate them for their aforementioned activity. Not to mention that this way the members of the enterprise council would have felt directly what the council's decisions were worth: Whether the decisions caused the price of the stocks to rise or fall.

Otherwise Amfora felt that the stocks issued to members of the enterprise council ought to have been nonvoting stocks; at their own work stations, however, the members of the enterprise council would have been able to exert pressure to ensure implementation of the enterprise council's decisions. But this process would have worked also the other way around: if an employee owned stock, he could have exerted more pressure on the members of the enterprise council to adopt decisions enhancing the enterprise's net worth, thereby causing the price of the stock to rise. An essential part of this experiment would have been modification of the enterprise council's composition so that primarily those who had money invested in the enterprise would have sat on the enterprise council.

The idea as outlined above is not feasible for the time being, but Amfora too could issue profit-sharing certificates to its employees. The only question that remains is whether profit-sharing certificates will be able to perform the same function as that of stocks. We obviously will have to wait for an answer: by the end of next year we should be able to sum up the experience with employees' profit-sharing certificates.

However, it is quite clear already now that employees' profit-sharing certificates are a very expensive source of capital for the enterprises. Jointly the interest and share of earnings payable on profit-sharing certificates are much higher than the interest payable on bonds or bank

loans. Which means than an enterprise may consider a substantial employees' profit-sharing-certificate issue only if the enterprise's finances are sufficiently stable to afford giving its employees some extra cash, in the form of profit-sharing certificates. Let us immediately add that the statutory limit on profit-sharing-certificate issues (i.e., that all such issues of an enterprise jointly may not exceed 50 percent of the enterprise's total capital) is not their only limitation; the issues are limited also by the employees' ability to buy such certificates. Taurus is a good example: There the workers initially purchased some 20 million forints' worth of profit-sharing certificates, whereas the enterprise had expected them to buy substantially more.

Another as yet unsolved question in conjunction with employees' profit-sharing certificates concerns giving the certificate holders a say in the enterprise's management. Stockholders clearly have a right to influence their firm's management, but the holders of profit-sharing certificates do not. When Amfora was considering a profit-sharing-certificate issue, the firm's director for economic affairs outlined the proposed solution to giving certificate holders a say in management as follows: "According to our plans, investors with a substantial investment in the enterprise will have considerable influence in the enterprise council. The next step would be to differentiate the votes, in electing the members of the enterprise council, according to the amount of money invested in the enterprise. Anyone holding 100,000 or 200,000 forints' worth of profit-sharing certificates would have respectively 10 and 20 times more votes than the person who has not invested a single penny. This method could obviously give the workers an incentive linked to the enterprise's net worth."

Undeniably, in the long run also the employees' profit-sharing certificate could give certificate holders a say in management in some form or other, and could create for the employees an incentive linked to the enterprise's net worth. But there remains this question: Why is it necessary to invent a special type of socialist security, when stock in a corporation would perfectly satisfy all the objectives that the employees' profit-sharing certificate can solve only tediously and imperfectly? For stock in a corporation differs from a certificate, and in part also from the employees' profit-sharing certificate, in that it represents a final investment from the viewpoint of whoever operates the enterprise's capital stock; it does not have to be redeemed; and it pays a dividend, rather than a fixed rate of interest. And the market sets the price of the stock and perhaps raises it to several times its par value. All this, of course, presupposes a securities market that processes the market information and then forms its own value judgment. We might add that much greater openness than now exists will also be necessary, because the investor must know what risk he is assuming and why when buying or selling stocks.

It seems likely that the aforementioned properties of stock in a corporation could be put to good use in the

Hungarian economy and, as the next step, stockholders could be given a say in management. Which of course would require additional statutory regulations.

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**Shortages in Consumer Goods Enumerated,  
Causes Discussed**

25000079 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian  
21 Dec 87 p 5

[Article by Laszlo Gergely: "Why We Can't Get This, Why We Can't Get That—The Top of the Shortage List"]

[Text] Brick is not available? There is a shortage of color TVs? There is no gas-boiler Type 4? There isn't, and especially not in the last weeks and months—the hoarding fever does not want to decrease. However, there are quite a few constantly needed prime consumer goods, everyday items, the lack of which cannot be explained with next year's price hikes and the population's storing. We asked an expert in the ministry and managers of manufacturing and trading enterprises about the cause of the shortage.

[Question] Why is tampon an article in short supply?

[Answer] "It is more exact to say that tampons are available but in short supply" says Andras Horvath, deputy director of Rico Bandage Works. "Our 3 assembly lines working in 3 shifts produce 3 million boxes annually, but the current demand is some 7-8 million boxes. We hope that this time next year we'll have the opportunity to expand our capacity so that our production can reach 5 million, but demand will probably increase at a similar rate: shortage makes shortage. We applied for the right to buy assembly lines, but we don't know if we'll have the possibility to acquire the equipment from the capitalist market..."

[Question] Why cannot the broken window panes be replaced?

[Answer] "At the beginning of the year we expected that we would be able to lessen the problems in the sheetglass supply," argues Endre Szucs, deputy minister of construction and city development. "Because at that time the consequences of the technological problem in the Oroshaza factory could still be felt. Yet, as the result of the combination of several factors, there is again a shortage on the market. The price hike of construction materials started a hoarding wave of those supplies too, and it is also a fact that good export opportunities came along for several types of glass which were used both by the Salgotarjan and the Oroshaza factories. However, the planned amount of goods could not be acquired from the socialist market. So, glass has been an item in permanent shortage for a time. The two factories postponed needed and substantial repair work to the first quarter of the next year so that they would not have to stop in the

remaining weeks of this year. And it also seems probable that once the hoarding fever declines, supply problems will cease. Of course, this is little comfort for someone who has a broken window in his apartment right now...."

[Question] Why is toilet paper an article in short supply?

[Answer] "We get the indispensable commodity from the PIERT [Budapest Trade Enterprise for Stationery and Office Supplies]," answers Dr Istvan Somogyi, the trade director of Apisz [State Paper Cooperative Enterprise]. "Basically, we know the explanation of why the shortage appeared again this year. It is relatively easy to calculate that the country's annual need is 25,000 [metric] tons. The domestic industry produces 16-17,000 tons, we buy the rest from China and the capitalist market. Supply will not be smooth until the enterprise gets permission to import continuously, from January to December. No matter that the Chinese delivery arrives sometime during the year; that is not an excess over the amount originally ordered. Nevertheless, when it arrives all the other imports are halted and then there is a shortage, although the commercial and market survey data speak for themselves.

[Question] Why cannot Corvital, the sweetener the sick can use instead of sugar, be found on the shelves of grocery stores in Budapest for months now?

[Answer] "The substance of Corvital, crystalline dextrose (or grape sugar) is made by the Aszar starch factory of our company and is produced by the Kisvarda Company," sent his answer by telex Laszlo Merkl, deputy chief director of the Szabadegyhaz Alcoholic Beverages Enterprise. "Concerning the base compound of this product we have to mention that its production is limited and can be increased only in small amounts every year. Please turn to the Kisvarda Alcoholic Beverages Enterprise with the question here asked, they can give you the correct answers.

"Since this year we have received only a limited amount of the basic substance (dextrose monohydrate from the Aszar starch factory) we could only partially satisfy the demand," wrote Dr Sandor Nagy, the deputy trade director of the Kisvarda Alcoholic Beverages Enterprise

in his letter. And he continued: "Knowing next year's production of the basic substance it is not to be expected that our production of Corvital will increase in 1988...."

[Question] Why is there a shortage of insulating tape?

[Answer] "The material indispensable for electric work is produced and, as we say in our trade, 'confectioned' by the Polimer Cooperative," answers Gyula Konecsny, the head of the acquisition department of the Keravill. "That is, they produce very little of it, because the necessary raw materials produced abroad are in shortage. We have not been able even to make an agreement with the cooperative for next year because they do not know what to expect. Typically, we received a delivery in September 1986, and the next one came in May 1987. Since then we have received deliveries of varying size, but these disappear from the stores in a couple of minutes, since those who under normal circumstances would have taken only one or two rolls, now take even ten, because who knows when it will be available again...."

[Question] Why is the Trabant automatic starter magnetic roll missing?

[Answer] "Its official name is the 6 Volt automatic starter" explains Dr Laszlo Halla, general director of the Autotechnika Enterprise. "We ordered 15,000 pieces for 1987, the factory verified 6,650 and delivered 500 pieces. So we only give this part out of our 'stock' one at a time for repairs of warranty servicing. Through the Mogurt, we ordered 16,000 pieces for 1988 from the combine in the GDR. Even if there were a domestic manufacturer, it could only produce them at a price three or four times higher, since the domestic market in itself is too small, and at present there isn't even adequate raw material. I do not attach much hope to my meeting with the department head of the Trabant factory this week, as they also have to buy their electric parts from a specialized combine in the GDR. In the meantime, lacking a better solution, Hungarian Trabant owners can substitute for the automatic starter by pushing their car in with their two hands...."

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## POLAND

### Sociologist Views Society's 'Rejuvenation' Possibilities

26000114 Warsaw *POLITYKA* in Polish No 47,  
21 Nov 87 p 10

[Interview with Professor Jerzy Szacki, professor of sociology, University of Warsaw, by Zdzislaw Rykowski and Wieslaw Wladyka: "Is Our Society Normal?—In the Waiting Room?"]

[Question] Does Polish society have a well-developed sociological imagination? What kind of knowledge of itself does it have?

[Answer] Let us start with knowledge. Not too long ago, someone said that our society is one of the sociologically best-described. I think that is true although it is not hard to find areas that have gone uninvestigated. The number of recorded sociological facts is enormous. However, first of all, those facts have not always been put into any order, and second, what the sociologists know is not necessarily public knowledge.

[Question] Do you think that a person in Poland knows what place he holds in society? Does he see the social distances and structures and how does he view the inequalities?

[Answer] There is no doubt that social distances are seen correctly. They have often been more correctly perceived by the so-called common man than by sociologists. The common man better sees the division into "we" and "they" than the sociologist using various abstract figures and scales. The image drawn by sociologists in the 1970s did not predict the type of social behavior seen in 1980-81. The common man has a much better perception of growing conflicts than many well-known sociologists. However, I am not trying to say that the common man is just as perceptive in all areas. Seeing the manifestations of a problem is not the same as knowing the mechanisms.

[Question] In recent years, there has been an eruption of empirical polls. We keep seeing new reports and we become convinced that they scientifically confirm what we know. Sociology cannot rise up to meet what people already feel.

[Answer] I think that we could distinguish several competitive visions of society that correspond to different degrees with the premises of the sociologists. Even if research did confirm what is common knowledge, that would not necessarily mean that sociology is wrong. It has never been said anywhere that it must make statements that contradict what people already know to be true. That is indeed the case at times but it is not a rule. After all, the recipient is then not satisfied. I think that a sociologist should not be worried about whether or not his findings support or deny what the public thinks. He

must know that the ideas about society confirmed by research are something other than superficial and unsubstantiated notions. Sociology tries to be a credible witness to what is happening in society. Generally, only the sociologist knows how hard that is and consciously tries to overcome this difficulty and subject himself to public scrutiny and criticism.

[Question] Do sociologists not use their research to back up their own assumptions? After all, one can manipulate the process to get the answers one wants.

[Answer] That is true and sociologists know it. If they are honest, they can avoid such practices. It is another matter that it is impossible to not formulate the type of questions that do not reflect one's theoretical, moral and other premises. This does not mean that all such assumptions should be eliminated from science and that would be impossible anyway. What this means is that these assumptions should not be hidden, that a sociologist should support his statements and show how he came to his conclusions. The recipient of scientific data must have a chance to check his findings to see if his interpretation of the facts is correct. It is only the arbitrary judgements made with substantiation that are dangerous.

[Question] We do not intend for sociology to contradict what people know. We expect more from that science. Poland's great classic sociologists like Czarnowski, Ossowski and Znaniecki, had inspiration. Our colleagues have much data but they lack this inspiration.

[Answer] That is true but the word "inspiration" has more in common with poetry than science. I understand that you are referring to the type of 19th-century inspiration that led sociologists to talk about the People and attempt to embrace their development from beginning to end. However, these same sociologists also had something to say about the future. I think it is good that 20th-century sociology does not have this sort of inspiration. After all, Ossowski's sociology was something else entirely. I sense in your question a longing for just the type of sociology that is not limited to the description of one particular segment of reality but applies its data to all of society and makes sense of it all. That is a hard task. There are fewer and fewer sociologists that want to speak out about society as a whole. This has most certainly been caused by an invasion of usable, empirical research techniques that sociologists reluctantly depart from because they feel that a synthesis will form itself from a set of data despite that fact that that never has and never will happen. The second reason was, at various times at least, a matter of political convenience. A sociologist who works with general concepts or specific facts within a broader concept can easily fall into conflict with highly placed individuals who have set and unarguable views about society and its needs.

However, I think that Polish sociology has changed somewhat and something very significant happened at the start of the 1980s. Sociologists, or at least a great number of them, again perceived of society as a whole and more importantly, as an active entity. They understood that it is not isolated data from one field or the other that is of most interest but their social effects on a large scale and this includes their causes and outcome. The change in the viewpoint of Polish sociology was seen at the 1981 Lodz congress (unfortunately, the congress's materials have never been made public) and in later research that differed from that of the 1970s. This is obvious in the Polish Sociological Society which is now celebrating its 30th anniversary. The congress's discussions have their own temperature because they are more and more often considering fundamental problems that go beyond the little causes-and-effects and partial studies and seek answers to fundamental questions.

[Question] At the Wroclaw Congress of Sociologists last year, there was a call to create a new theory of modern Polish society. Do you think Polish sociology can create such a theory?

[Answer] We will see but there is no way of saying for now. However, there is indeed a great number of recorded facts and most sociologists are convinced that we must synthesize them. Since they are not as restricted as they once were, they have become bolder.

[Question] When we look at other societies, we are eager to say that they are much more normal than ours. It seems like we lack something to be a normal society. Do you tend to think of societies as normal or abnormal?

[Answer] Let me start with my own experiences. In 1956, I read Albert Camus' article about the Poznan events and that was the first time I encountered that language. In a normal society it would be this or that but in Poland...I will admit that I was bridled by this statement. Later, I began to use the term "normal" more often. Can one say what the norm is in social life? I do not think that sociology has done that. However, I do feel it is worth a try at least. In social life, there are certain boundaries that cannot be crossed without serious harm being caused. If, for example, social life is organized in such a way that the family cannot function and raise children, etc., a pathological state is reached once certain boundaries are crossed. If nationalization of the economy

crosses certain boundaries, social and economic relationships are destroyed and this manifests itself most painfully. I, therefore, think that a society is functioning normally when certain conditions are met and certain boundaries are not transgressed. It is hard to describe these conditions in detail but they do exist and are associated with the needs of man as a biological creature and as society as a system.

[Question] Is our state of "abnormality" and our crisis not the result of the collapse of the concept of the government's sociotechnique of transforming society according to doctrine?

[Answer] The term of sociotechnique is not in this case the most apt one as it suggests some cohesion in the methods used. We were let down not by sociotechnique because we did not have one but by our belief that we could do anything we wanted with society as long as we had the means and that we could influence the type of behavior we wished to see. In other words, our idea of society as a collection of individuals without a will of their own has shown just how fruitless it is. It is an absurd belief that one can negate the existence of what we usually call society, liquidate all spontaneous social ties or arrange interpersonal relations according to doctrines. Various techniques have been sought but no one has ever used a consistent one nor were refined methods of guiding social phenomena ever applied. We relied rather on magic charms and chaotic attempts to hinder everything that we could not predict.

[Question] We are witnessing the rehabilitation of the spontaneous play of social forces and mechanisms of self-regulation. The idea of a conscious transformation of society is anachronistic and dubious. Should we throw our plans for social changes in the garbage heap?

[Answer] Certainly not but such plans cannot be arbitrarily set up in offices. They must be scientifically substantiated. They cannot be dreamed-up plans that have nothing in common with what the people want or are or can accept at a given moment. Social development and progress, to use an archaic term, are impossible without fundamental plans for change. What we must do is heed the origins of such plans. They must consider society and the public's activities and associations. Are such plans the result of the free play of ideas and concepts or are they set up in the belief that there can be only one true way?